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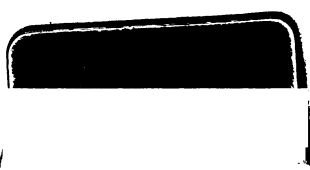


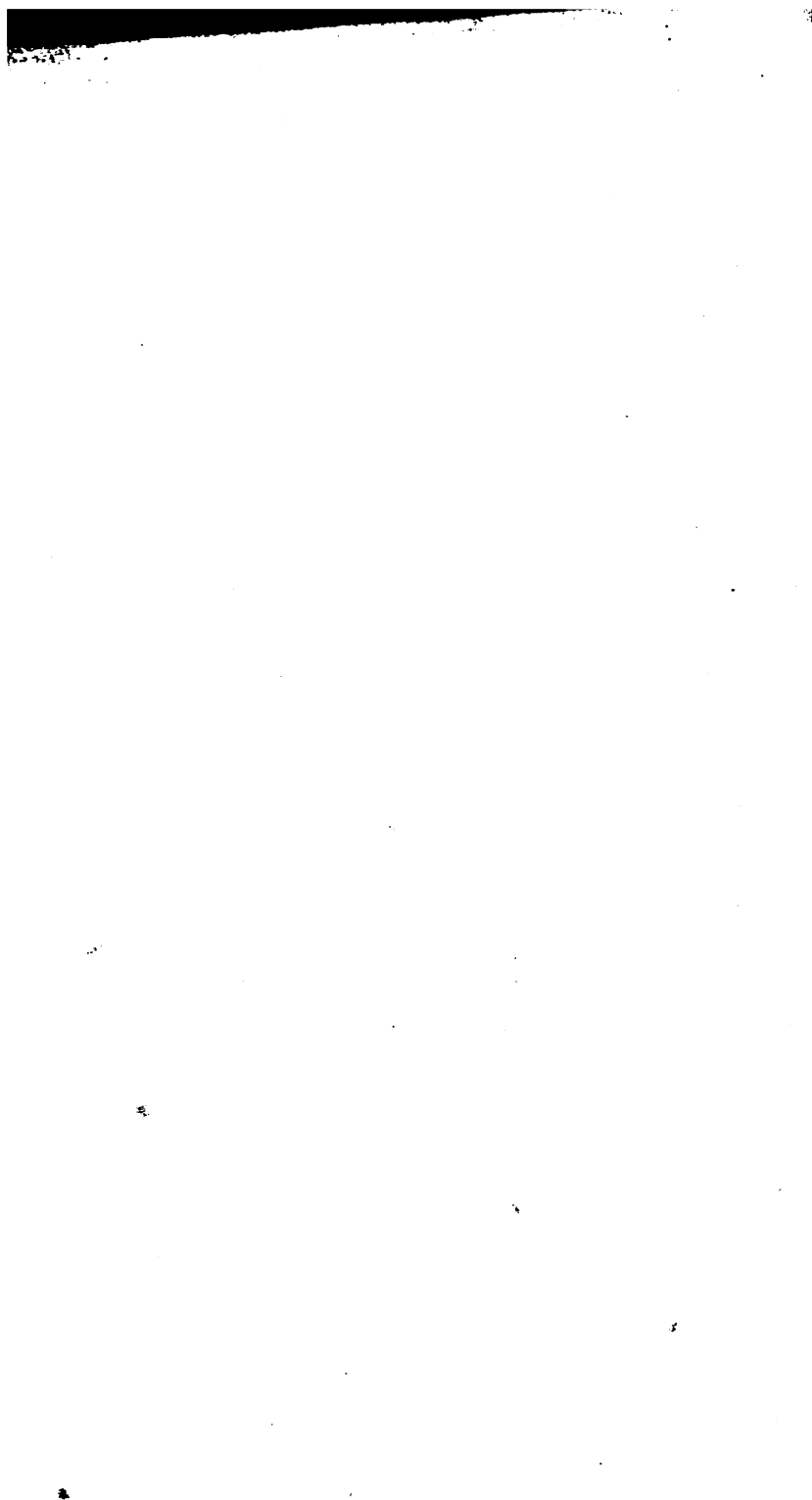


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Drawn from the Original Bust in the Loganian Library Philadelphia 1 Nov: 1797

THE
History of Pennsylvania,
IN
NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE
Original Institution and Settlement of that Province, under
the first *Proprietor* and *Governor* WILLIAM PENN,
in 1681, till after the Year 1742;

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION,
RESPECTING,

The Life of W. PENN, prior to the grant of the Province, and the religious
Society of the People called *Quakers*;—with the first rise of the neighbouring
Colonies, more particularly of *West-New-Jersey*, and the Settlement
of the *Dutch* and *Swedes* on *Delaware*.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A brief Description of the said Province,
AND OF THE
General State, in which it flourished, principally between the Years 1760 and 1770.

The whole including a Variety of Things,
Useful and interesting to be known, respecting that Country in early Time, &c.
With an APPENDIX.

Written principally between the Years 1776 and 1780,
By ROBERT PROUD.

"PULCHRUM EST BENEFACERE REIPUBLICÆ, ETIAM BENEDICERE HAUD ABSUR-
DUM EST, VEL PACE VEL BELLO CLARUM FIERI LICET." *Sal. Catalin.*

"SED CUM PLERIQUE ARBITRENTUR RES BELICAS MAJORES ESSE QUAM URBANAS,
MINUENDA EST HÆC OPINIO." *Cic. Off.*

VOLUME I.

Philadelphia:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY ZACHARIAH POULSON, JUNIOR,
NUMBER EIGHTY, CHESNUT-STREET.

1797.

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The means,
or materials.

Though the materials of this performance, and the regular accounts of the early progressive advances of this country, left by those who were most capable of giving them, appear, in some things, and more so at particular times, very defective, yet the compilation is made from the best that could be had, as transmitted from the most early settlers, and their successors, of the first reputation and character, in the province; as well as from the public records, and such other accounts as may be depended on.

C. Pusey &
first collectors
of the
memorials,
&c.

Among the first collectors of these materials appears to have been *Caleb Pusey*, one of the early settlers of *Pennsylvania* from about London, in 1682; who, at different times, was both of the provincial and proprietary's, or governor's, council, and frequently in the assembly. He lived many years; was well acquainted with the public affairs, and saw great improvements in the province. His papers after his decease, in 1725, were delivered to *David Lloyd* and *Isaac Norris*; and afterwards to *James Logan*, about the year 1732. From these persons, who made such additions, as came within their observation, they afterwards passed to *John Kinsey*; who, in conjunction with several others, his friends, revised them; and they remained in his possession till his death, in the year 1750.

The character of these persons, above mentioned, who, at different periods of time, filled some of the most eminent public stations in the province, will further appear in the ensuing history; as being men who had not only the best opportunity of knowing the variety of incidents, and the true state of its internal affairs, from the beginning, but also were themselves actively concerned in a large share of the public transactions; and some of them, in the different interests both of the proprietary and of his opposers.

But

But the person who took the most pains to adjust and reduce these materials into such order, as might be proper for the public view, before that of the present publication, was *Samuel Smith* of *Burlington*, in *New-Jersey*, author of the history of that province; whose manuscript (which contained only the space of about forty years) after his decease, in 1776, being thought by divers sensible and judicious persons, among his friends, to be capable of further improvement, and useful alterations, or additions, the present history, therefore, is published, not only in a form, different from that of S. Smith's manuscript, but also divers particulars therein, are here much abbreviated, especially respecting the long and tedious disputes between some of the governors and assemblies; and considerable additions are made, from other accounts, of such things as were either not at all touched upon, or but slightly mentioned, by him; besides most of the notes, with the *introduction*, and the *description* of the province and its *present state*, between the years 1760 and 1770; both which last, not being attempted by him, are, for the most part, entirely new:—So that the whole comprizes, besides what may be found of veracity, in other publications, respecting the province, a true and genuine narrative of the different public transactions, the great and various improvements, memorable incidents, entertaining anecdotes, and things worthy to be known, for above sixty years, besides the said *present state*, &c.

The restoration and enjoyment of those natural and civil rights and privileges, of which men originally, by their folly and wickedness, are often deprived, was the great end, for which the predecessors of the present inhabitants of *Pennsylvania*, at first, peaceably withdrew into this retirement, from those, who, at that time, appeared either to have lost, or too partially distributed them; and the preservation thereof was the original design of the

Subject of
the history,

the civil government and constitution of the province; an account of which, &c. is the principal subject of the following history.

Remarkable example, &c.

Hence, in the first rise, and early progress, of this province, there manifestly appears a remarkable and extraordinary example of that excellent wisdom, industry and moderation, whose effects are replete with useful instruction to posterity, for having, in reality, rendered a people so very happy and flourishing;—not proved by the boasting of mere theory and anticipation, but by a happy experience for many years.

Possible benefit of history, &c.

It is likewise by means of the same kind of evidence, or proof, so far as history favors us with the experience of former times, in all ages and countries, that men may be taught, not only that the happy state of any country cannot reasonably be expected long to continue, in the same degree of increasing prosperity, as before, without the continued prevalence of principles and means, among the people, in general, similar to those by which it was first obtained; but also how liable such a happy and prosperous condition is again to be lost, by that folly or depravity, which has ever been fatal, where it got the ascendancy, though generally under the most plausible appearances.

“ Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis & umbrâ.”

Evil deceives under the pretence, or appearance of good.

Human nature still the same, &c.

For the history of all nations abounds with instances of the same nature, operating in all the descendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, which we are told, prevailed in these first parents, or representatives, of mankind; and through this medium of history, it may be clearly seen, as in a glass, that too much, or very great, prosperity has been, and consequently may still be, as fatal to the human race, (which is capable of bearing only a certain proportion of it) as the extreme of adversity; and that the effects of plenty, pride and ambition, in the

one

one, have been, and thence may still be, no less pernicious, than those of want, oppression and distress, in the other:—But how little have posterity profited from such former examples!—human nature is still the same;—the interdicted tree, with its *forbidden fruit*, is still as tempting as ever it was.

“*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*”

Happy is he whom the harms of others make wary.

How often, under some plausible pretence or other, are peace and improvement wantonly exchanged for war and destruction; whose natural consequence are violence and oppression!—Have we not seen the commencement of this already, even, within our borders, in this young country? which the former had rendered so flourishing and happy.—The first and early colonists, or settlers and makers of the province, left the finely cultivated plains of *Europe*, with their nearest and dearest connections there, to enjoy and promote the former, in this wilderness, in such degree of perfection, as seemed impossible for them there, and to avoid the latter, with its consequences;—from which, in an eminent degree, it is most manifest, their wisdom, virtue, moderation, and good policy, through much labor, danger and expence, many ways, and in a very signal, pacific and extraordinary manner, effected the deliverance and preservation of the inhabitants, while they directed the affairs of the colony, and for so many years prolonged the golden days of *Pennsylvania*.

Men love
change, &c.

Motives for
settling
Pennsylvania.

For, as there appears to be a constant decay, in human affairs, and all things have their beginning and end, so is it not manifest, in the course of nature, or of all things within the circle of human observation, that a constant recurring to first principles, or, that a renovation, or melioration, to balance this decay, is always necessary, both in an individual and collective capacity?—But then do all

Happy consequences,
&c.

all the boasted improvement of men, or melioration of the human race, &c. in reality, and in the general, amount to any more, than what is intimated by this similitude? *viz.*

“ Like leaves on trees the race of man is found;
Now green in youth, now with’ring on the
ground;

Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise:
So generations, in their course, decay;
So flourish these, when those are past away.”

POPE’S HOMER.

W. Penn a
wise pro-
moter of
improve-
ment, &c.

The worthy founder and father of the province appears to have been well acquainted with the true means of this melioration, in the state of mankind, by insisting, so much as he did, on the early cultivation of piety and virtue, and on a good education of youth, in its different branches; with a just and vigorous magistracy, or government, and good order; of which he was ever the firm friend and supporter, not to say, the reformer, or improver, of it, for the benefit, and further happiness of civil society; as sufficiently appears by his writings, and in his excellent example of that of *Pennsylvania*;—in which, as he exhibited himself a strenuous advocate, and a remarkable extender of justice, mercy, and all rational liberty, so was he also a severe enemy to all licentiousness, injustice, and criminal indulgence of vice and wickedness.

Extracts
from W.
Penn’s
writings.

“ There can be no pretence (says he) of conscience, to be drunk, to whore, to be voluptuous, to game, to swear, curse, blaspheme and prophane; no such matter. These are sins against nature; and against the government, as well as against the written laws of God. They lay the ax to the root of human society; and are the common enemies of mankind. It was to prevent these enormities,
that

that government was instituted; and shall government indulge that, which it is instituted to correct? This were to render the magistracy useless, and the bearing of the sword vain; there would be then no such thing, in government, as a *terror to evil-doers*; but every one would do that, which he thought right in his own eyes; *God almighty deliver us from this sort of tyranny.*"

Duty of the magistracy, &c.

"Nothing (continues he) weakens kingdoms like vice; it does not only displease Heaven, but disable them;"—"It is our interest to be good; and it is none of the least arguments for religion, that the piety and practice of it is the peace and prosperity of government; and consequently that vice, the enemy of religion, is, at the same time, the enemy of human society. What, then, should be more concerned for the preservation of virtue, than government? that, in its abstract, and true sense, is not only founded upon virtue, but without the preservation of virtue, it is impossible to maintain the best constitution, that can be made. And, however some particular men may prosper that are wicked, and some private good men miscarry, in the things of this world, in which sense, things may be said to happen alike to all, *to the righteous as to the wicked*, yet I dare boldly affirm, and challenge any man to the truth thereof; that, in the many volumes of the history of all ages and kingdoms of the world, there is not one instance to be found, where the hand of God was against a righteous nation, or when the hand of God was not against an unrighteous nation, first or last; nor where a just government perished, nor an unjust government long prospered. Kingdoms are rarely so short lived as men; yet they also have a time to die; but as temperance giveth health to men, so virtue gives time to kingdoms; and as vice brings men betimes to their graves, so nations to their ruin."

Great importance of virtue, &c.

Modes of
govern-
ment.

Respecting modes of government, the memorable founder of that of *Pennsylvania* declares,—
“ There is hardly one frame of government, in the world, so ill designed by its first founder, that, in good hands would not do well enough; and history tells us, the best, in ill ones, can do nothing, that is great or good; witness, the *Jewish* and the *Roman* states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion, which men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them are they ruined too: wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill they will cure it: but if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.”—“ That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, *viz.* men of wisdom and virtue; qualities, that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a *virtuous education of youth*; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive *magistracy*, than to their parents, for their private *patrimonies*.”

Great im-
portance of
good edu-
cation.

“ I would think (says he in another place) that there are but few people so vicious, as to care to see their children so; and yet to me it seems a plain case, that, as we leave the government, they will find it: if some effectual course be not taken, what with neglect, and what with example, impiety and the miseries that follow it, will be entailed upon our children. Certainly it were better the world ended with us, than that we should transmit our vices, or sow those evil seeds, in our day, that will ripen to their ruin, and fill our country with miseries, after we are gone; thereby exposing it to the curse of God, and violence of our neighbours. But it is an infelicity we ought to bewail, that men are apt to prefer the base pleasures of their present extravagances to all endeavours after a future benefit;

benefit; for, besides the guilt, they draw down upon themselves, our poor posterity must be greatly injured thereby; who will find those debts and incumbrances harder to pay than all the rest; we can leave them under."

" Upon the whole matter (continues he) I take the freedom to say, that, if we would preserve our government; we must endear it to the people. To do this, besides the necessity of present, just and wise things, we must secure the *youth*: this is not to be done, but by the *amendment* of the *way* of their *education*; and that with all convenient speed and diligence. I say, the government is highly obliged: it is a sort of trustee for the youth of the kingdom; who, though now minors, yet will have the government, when we are gone. Therefore *depress* vice, and *cherish* virtue; that through *good education*, they may become good; which will truly render them happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their *education*, than for their estates."

Good education conducive to good government.]

Such maxims and advice are of universal concernment, and interesting to all governments; but the opinions of different men frequently vary much on the same subjects; and that, even, on important as well as trifling affairs; and their conduct is no less contradictory, and sometimes seemingly irrational; they are so liable to embrace opposite extremes, that they often deviate from the middle way of rectitude: Hence, while the forward, selfish and less qualified, frequently from sinister, or mean views, solicit and succeed into the public offices and magistracy, as well as into divers other important departments of life, for which they are unfit and improper, it is to be regretted, that sometimes the more worthy, and better qualified, who are actuated, in what they do, by more generous principles, too often from diffidence of their own abilities, and

Men's opinions vary much, &c.

Some causes of defect in government and magistracy, &c.

“ What pow’r was fit I did on all bestow;
 Nor rais’d the poor too high, nor press’d too low;
 The rich that rul’d, and every office bore,
 Confin’d by laws, could not oppress the poor;
 Both parties I secur’d from lawless might;
 So none prevail’d upon another’s right.”

Various
 ways of am-
 bition, &c.

But ambition is rooted in human nature, and demands restraint; it assumes all manner of appearances whatsoever, and is now working wonders, in the world, under the name of *equality* and *the rights of man*;—Hence to mistake innovation for renovation, and a love of change for melioration, connected with such an idea of *self-independency*, as is inconsistent with the enlargement of civilization, or of the social happiness of mankind, in any great or extensive degree, have ever produced those pernicious consequences, which have flowed from the revolutionary governments of nations and countries; whose felicity consists in the unity, harmony, or a just dependency of their parts; and the more extensive those parts are, in such a state, the greater and more durable is most likely to be the happiness of those very constituent and particular parts, as well as of the whole; and *vice versa*.

Compari-
 son of the
 effects of
 unity, &c.

For as an assemblage of similar rays of light adds to the lustre of each individual ray, of which it is composed; and the larger the assemblage, so much greater is that lustre, in proportion to the number of rays; so the happy, or unhappy state of mankind individually may be considered, as augmented, or diminished, beyond the possibility of a solitary enjoyment only, according to the general prevalency and extensiveness of these two different states, in a national or collective capacity:—The just and proper consideration of which might have no small tendency to incite men more effectually to cultivate and extend such a state of harmony and unity in the world, as necessarily must, above all other means, ever constitute, preserve and

Incitement
 to unity &
 harmony,
 &c.

and increase, or advance, their felicity, so far as human nature is capable of it, both in a particular and general relation; rather than the contrary, or discord, rebellion and revolt, so often advocated, pursued, and in the end, unhappily experienced, under the plausible name and false appearance, of melioration.

But how muchsoever the recommendation and extension of unity, concord and amity, with a due submission, in civil society, may be contrary to the ambition, and selfish views, of an *independent and rebellious spirit*, in any age, or country, yet it is most certain that as the former constituted the state of original, and most complete, felicity, so the latter occasioned the contrary; and cannot, in the nature of things, do otherwise;—and that human happiness may be much further increased, or augmented, both in an individual and collective capacity, than either idleness or wickedness will permit many to believe, or think possible, the province of *Pennsylvania* has afforded a very signal example, and incontestible proof, to the admiration of strangers; and doubtless far beyond the credibility of many, who are not sufficiently acquainted with the early, as well as the later state of the country.

Original
causes of
happiness
and misery
still the
same.

Example of
Pennsylvania.

To conclude, as the world is said to have been formed out of a chaos, and that order sprung from disorder, by the effect of Omnipotence; so, in the rise of this province, appears a remarkable instance of happy consequences, from apparent unhappy causes;—rational liberty, with an equal participation of natural and civil rights, and religious privileges, with the glorious effects, have risen out of oppression, persecution and bigotry:—But, as the abuse of the former has always introduced the latter, sooner or later; and as human nature ever remains to be the same, so the reversing of those enjoyments continues to be no less incident to the human race, than it was in former ages of the world;
and

How good
things may
be reversed
and restored.

and their preservation depends as much upon the wisdom and conduct of the possessors of them, as their restoration will do, on means similar to those, which raised, and so long preserved, the happy state of the province of *Pennsylvania*.

Philadelphia, 1797.



INTRODUCTION.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

PART THE FIRST.

The parentage, birth and education of *William Penn*, with the time and manner of his embracing the religion of the people called *Quakers*, &c.

In the account of the religious system and manners of the *Quakers*, are comprehended:

1. The time, motive and manner of their first rise, and becoming a religious society.
2. Their first and chief *principle*, &c.
3. Their worship and ministry, with some of their chief and particular doctrines.

Their other tenets, doctrines, practices and customs, more peculiar to them than to other people, are ranged under the following heads, *viz.*

1. *Their justice, veracity and true Christian fortitude.*
2. *Their temperance and moderation.*
3. *Their charity and loving one another.*

4. Under the first of these heads are comprised :

Their disuse of *flattering titles*, and their not respecting persons, &c.

Their using the plain and true speech of *thou* and *thee*, to a single person, &c.

Their disuse of the *common salutations*, &c.

Their non-observance of *holy-days, fast-days*, &c.

Their manner of naming the *months*, and *days of the week*, &c.

Their refusing to pay *tithes, priests' wages*, &c.

Their strictly *paying the government taxes, dues*, &c.

Their not suffering the *Negro or slave-trade* among them.

Their refusing to *swear* on any occasion.

Their *fortitude*, in valiantly suffering for their testimony.

5. Under the second head are,

Their disuse of *gaming, sports, plays*, &c.

Their avoiding superfluity, *viz.*

In their *diet and discourse*.

In their *furniture and apparel*.

At their *births, marriages and funerals*.

6. Under the third head are represented:

Their *loving one another*, and refraining from *law-suits*, among themselves.

Their *loving enemies*, and *not fighting*, but *suffering*, &c.

Their *charity* to the *poor*:—With some conclusions on divers of these things, from *R. Barclay*.

7. Their *marriages*, *births*, *burials* and *discipline*, from *W. Penn*; concluded with some further hints of the temper, and general disposition of mind, and of the practice of this people, in early time, from *W. Penn*, and *W. Edmundson*.

Further account of the life of *William Penn*, continued till about the time of the grant and settlement of *Pennsylvania*.

PART THE SECOND.

1. First *European* discoveries of the different parts of *America*, by *Spain*, *Portugal* and *England*, from the year 1492 to 1497.

2. Summary of the ancient *Virginia*; and of the *Dutch* and *Swede's* pretensions to what was called *New Netherland* by the former, and *New Swedeland* by the latter:—With a sketch of the first settlement, government and revolutions of these people on the *Delaware* bay and river;—Including some account of the *Maryland* grant to the Lord Baltimore, in 1632; and of the reduction of the *Dutch* and *Swedes* under the British government in 1664.

3. First rise of *New-Jersey*, in 1664; and some account of the English administration by the governors of *N. York*, over the country on *Delaware*, till it was retaken by the *Dutch*, in 1673;—and of the government there, after it was surrendered to *England*.

4. Division of *New-Jersey* into *East* and *West New-Jersey*, in 1676; whereby *W. Penn* first became concerned in the latter;—With a summary of the first settlement and public transactions of *West New-Jersey*, by the *Quakers*, &c. continued from the division of the province, in 1676, till about the time of *W. Penn's* obtaining the grant of *Pennsylvania*, in 1681, &c.

5. A sketch of the religious state of *West N. Jersey*, about that time, with some further hints of its general situation, or state, till the surrender of the respective proprietary governments to the crown, in 1702.

Note, When the months are mentioned in their numerical order, in the following history, March is understood to be the first month of the year, before the change of the style, in 1752; after which the year commenced on the first of January.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

PART THE FIRST.

CONTAINING,

M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E

OF

W I L L I A M P E N N,

Prior to his founding the Province of *Pennsylvania*;

AND INCLUDING,

A general and comprehensive view of the rise, principles, religious system and practice, or manners, of the people called QUAKERS, who first settled the province, under his government.

THE wisdom of former ages, when transmitted, in writing, to posterity, is an inestimable treasure; but the actions of illustrious and virtuous persons, in the same manner exhibited, is still more beneficial: by the former our judgments are rightly informed, and our minds brought into a proper way of thinking; by the latter we are animated to an imitation; and while the excellency of noble examples is displayed before our understandings, our minds are inspired with a love of virtue. This appears to be the office of history; by which every succeeding age may avail itself of the wisdom, and, even, of the folly, of the preceding, and become wiser and happier by a proper application. Though this

Office and use of history, &c.

this medium when we view the conduct of those great men of antiquity, who have benefited mankind, in their most essential interests, they appear frequently to have been actuated by motives, the most disinterested, and attended with a satisfaction more than human!—Adversity, which refines men, and renders them more fit to benefit the human race, is a frequent concomitant of worthy minds; and apparent success doth not always immediately attend noble and just designs:—When a *Socrates* is put to death, wisdom and truth seem to suffer; and when an *Aristides* is exiled, justice appears to be in disgrace. But virtue is its own reward, and depends not on the fluctuating opinions of mortals, nor on the breath of popular applause; which is often on the side of error, and entirely opposite to the real interests of its votaries.

W. Penn
an example
of wisdom
and fortitude.

An example of true wisdom and fortitude, is no less conspicuous in the venerable founder of the province of *Pennsylvania*, the truly great and worthy *William Penn*, than in many of the celebrated sages and legislators of former ages; who, in opposition to the vulgar notions of the times in which they lived, have seemingly suffered in their own particulars, in order to benefit mankind: this will appear in the following sketch of his life, both with respect to his religion in joining with the people called *Quakers*, and likewise in settling the province itself. In both of which his engagement for the happiness of men was not unattended with a large share of that difficulty and opposition, to which the most excellent undertakings are generally exposed: but minds of such exalted virtue are actuated by motives above mortality, and indisputably are influenced by something *divine*; without which, as *Cicero* says, “*there never was a really good and great man.*”*

His

* “*Credendum est neminem virorum bonorum talem fuisse, nisi adjuvantem Deo; et nemo unquam fuit vir magnus sine afflatu aliquo divino.*”

Cic. de natura Deorum.

His father, Sir *William Penn*, was of eminent character; and served both under the parliament, and king *Charles* the second, in several of the highest maritime offices.* He was born in *Bristol*, anno 1621; and married *Margaret*, daughter of *John Jasper*, of *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, merchant; by whom he had his son *William Penn*. He was himself the son of captain *Giles Penn*, several years consul for the *English*, in the *Mediterranean*; and of the *Penns* of *Penns-lodge*, in the county of *Wilts*; and those *Penns* of *Penn*, in the county of *Bucks*; and by his mother, from the *Gilberts*, in the county of *Somerset*, originally from *Yorkshire*.

Of his father admiral Penn.

Biographia Britannica.

His descent

He was addicted from his youth to maritime affairs, and made captain at twenty-one years of age; rear admiral of *Ireland*, at twenty-three; vice admiral of *Ireland*, at twenty-five; admiral to the Straits, at twenty-nine; vice admiral of *England*, at thirty-one; and general in the first *Dutch* war, at thirty-two. Whence returning, anno 1655, he was a parliament man for the town of *Weymouth*; in 1660, he was made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of *Kingsail*; vice admiral of *Munster*, and a member of that provincial council; and anno 1664, he was chosen great captain commander under the *Duke of York*, in that signal, and most evidently successful fight with the *Dutch* Fleet.

His offices.

Thus he took leave of the sea, but continued still in his other employments, till 1669; at which time, through bodily infirmities, contracted by the care

His death.

* W. Penn, in his printed works, says further respecting his father, Admiral Penn;—"He was engaged both under the parliament and king; but not as an actor in the domestic troubles; his compass always steering him to eye a national concern, and not intestine wars. His service, therefore, being wholly foreign, he may be truly said to serve his country, rather than either of these interests, so far as they were distinct from each other."—Again, "In the attack on *Hispaniola*, his employ was only as general of the fleet; from which the miscarriage did not arise; it was owing to the land forces, over which he had no command.

care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared and made for his end. He died at *Wanstead*, in the county of *Essex*, on the 16th. day of September 1670, in the 49th. year of his age; leaving a plentiful estate, in *England* and *Ireland*, with his paternal blessing to his son *William*; to whom he was perfectly reconciled, after the great displeasure, he had before conceived at his joining in religious society with the *Quakers*;—"Thus (says his son) from a lieutenant he passed through all the eminent offices of sea employment, and arrived to that of general, about the 30th. year of his age; in a time full of the biggest sea action, that any history mentions; and when neither bribes nor alliance, favour nor affection, but ability only, could promote."—Having acquitted himself with honor and fidelity, in all his public offices, after the restoration he was knighted by king *Charles* the second, and became a peculiar favorite of *James*, duke of *Tork*; whose friendship, favor and benevolence were, after his death, continued to his son; which, in a particular manner he requested of the duke, on his death bed.

See W.
Penn's letter to W.
Popple afterwards.

Birth and
education
of W. Penn
born, 1644.

The memorable *William Penn*, son and heir of the above mentioned Sir *William*, or admiral *Penn*, and the first proprietor and governor of *Pennsylvania*, was born in *London*, on the fourteenth day of October, 1644. He was endowed with a good genius; and his father, from the promising prospect, which he had, of his advancement was induced to give him a liberal education: He accordingly made such early improvements in literature, that, about the fifteenth year of his age, he was entered a student at *Christ's church college* in *Oxford*.

His behaviour at Oxford.

At this time more particularly (says the writer of his life) began to appear in him a disposition of mind after true spiritual religion; of which before he had received some sense and taste, through the ministry of *Thomas Loe*, a preacher under the denomination

nomination of a *Quaker*. In this place, he, and certain students of that university, withdrawing themselves from the national way of worship, held private meetings, for the exercise of religion; where they both preached and prayed among themselves; which gave great offence to the heads of the college. He, being then but sixteen years of age, was fined for non-conformity; and, at last, for his persevering in the like religious practices, was expelled the college.

From thence, after he returned home, he still retained the same turn of mind, and continued to prefer the society of sober and religious persons. His father, judging this to be a great obstacle in the way of his sons preferment, endeavoured, by divers means to deter and divert him from it. For which purpose, after having used both the force of persuasion upon his mind, and the severity of stripes upon his body, without success, he at length was so far incensed against him, that, in great resentment of rage, he turned him out of his house!

His father's
conduct re-
wards him.

His patience surmounted this difficulty, till his father's affection had subdued his anger. He then sent him to *France* in company with some persons of quality, who were making a tour thither. He continued there a considerable time, till a quite different conversation had diverted his mind from the serious thoughts of religion. There he acquired the knowledge of the *French language*, and a perfectly accomplished, polite and courtly behaviour. His father, on his return, thinking the intention of his travels was fully answered, received him with great satisfaction. His conduct and behaviour, for some time after this, being represented to be such as justly entitled him to the character of a complete young gentleman.

He sends
him to
France.

About the year 1664 his spiritual conflict, or religious exercise of mind, is said to have been very great: his natural inclination, his lively and active disposition

His great disposition, his acquired accomplishments, his father's favour, the respect of his friends and acquaintances, did strongly press him to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, then, as it were, courting and caressing him, in the bloom of youth, to accept them; but, his earnest supplication being to the Almighty for preservation, he was, in due time, providentially favoured with resolution and ability to overcome all opposition and to pursue his religious prospect, and what he believed was his best interest, through all the reproaches, and persecutions which attended him.

He is fully convinced of the Quakers principles in Ireland.

In the year 1666, and the 22d. of his age, his father committed to his care and management a considerable estate, in *Ireland*; which occasioned his residence in that country; there, being at *Cork*, at a religious meeting of the people called *Quakers*, he was thoroughly and effectually convinced of their principles, by means of the preaching of *Thomas Loe*, before mentioned; whose ministry ten years before had made some impressions upon his understanding; so that he afterwards constantly attended the religious meetings of that people, even through the heat of persecution.

1667.

W. Penn committed to prison with the Quakers.

Being again at a meeting in *Cork*, in the year 1667, he, with many others, was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who, observing that his dress discovered not the *Quaker*, would have set him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour; which, refusing to give, he was, with about eighteen others, committed to prison; he had during his residence in *Ireland*, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry; and, being now a prisoner, he wrote a letter, on the occasion, to the *Earl of Orrery*, lord president of *Munster*; wherein he briefly informed him of his situation, pleaded his innocence, and boldly exhibited the inconsistency with true christianity, as well as the ill policy, of such kind of persecution, especially

especially in *Ireland*. The earl immediately ordered his discharge. But his imprisonment was so far from terrifying him, that it strengthened him in his resolution of a closer union with that people, whose religious innocence appeared to be the only crime, for which they suffered.

His more openly joining with the *Quakers* now 1667. brought him under that reproachful name; and the compliments and caresses of his companions were changed into scoffs and derision; and he became a by-word, and the subject of scorn and contempt both to the professor of religion, and to the profane.

His father by a letter from a nobleman of his acquaintance, being informed of the situation of his son, sent for him home. Upon his return, though there was no great alteration in his dress, yet the manner of his deportment, and the solid concern of mind, which he appeared to be under, were manifest indications of the truth of the information which his father had received; who thereupon attacked him afresh. "And here my pen (says the writer of his life) is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest, between his father and him. His father, by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare; his father grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turn his back on it; he, no less afflicted, to think that a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure, was inconsistent with an obedience to his heavenly one; his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience; his father earnestly entreating him, and, almost on his knees, beseeching him to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition

Great contest between his father and him.

position, in extreme agony of spirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble; his father threatening to disinherit him; he humbly submitting to his father's will therein; his father turning his back on him in anger; he lifting up his heart to God, for strength, to support him in that time of trial!"

A remarkable instance of his sincerity.

During this contest, the writer of his life mentions one very remarkable instance, among others, of his sincerity:—"His father, finding him too fixed, to be brought to a general compliance with the customary compliments of the times, seemed inclinable to have born with him, in other respects, provided he would be uncovered, in the presence of the *king*, the *duke* and *himself*; this being proposed, he desired time to consider of it; which his father supposing to be with an intention of consulting his friends, the *Quakers*, about it, he assured him that he would see the face of none of them, but retire to his chamber, till he should return him an answer. Accordingly he withdrew, and, having humbled himself before God, with fasting and supplication, to know his heavenly mind and will, he became so strengthened in his resolution, that, returning to his father, he humbly signified, that he could not comply with his desire therein."

His father turns him out of doors a second time.

"When all endeavours proved ineffectual to shake his constancy, and his father saw himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his sight, but turned him out of doors the second time. Thus exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence, (except what his mother privately sent him) he endured the *cross* with a *christian* patience and magnanimity, comforting himself with the promise of *Christ*;—"Verily I say unto you, there is no man, that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive many fold more, in this present time, and in the world to come, life everlasting."

"After

"After a considerable time, his steady perseverance evincing his integrity, his father's wrath became somewhat mollified, so that he winked at his return to, and continuance in his family; and though he did not publicly seem to countenance him, yet, when imprisoned for being at meetings, he privately used his interest to get him released."

His father's
wrath some
what abated.

"About the year 1668, being the 24th. of his age, (continues the writer of his life) he first appeared in the work of the ministry, rightly called to, and qualified for, that office; being sent of God to teach others what himself had learned of him; commissioned from on high, to preach to others that holy *self-denial*, which himself had practised; to recommend to all that serenity and peace of conscience, which himself had felt; walking in the light, to call others out of darkness; having drank of the water of life, to direct others to the same fountain; having tasted of the heavenly bread, to incite all men to partake of the same banquet; being redeemed by the power of *Christ*, he was sent to call others from under the dominion of *Satan*, into the glorious liberty of the sons of *God*, that they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified through faith in *Jesus Christ*."

Of the rise, religious principles and practice, &c. of the people called Quakers.

Before I proceed to be more particular respecting *William Penn*, I shall here intermit the further account of his life; and, that the reader might have some just idea of the people, with whom he joined in religious society, and who first settled the province of *Pennsylvania*, under him, I shall next exhibit a short *summary* of the rise, religious principles, general system and practice or manners, of the people called *Quakers*, sufficient for the purpose, principally extracted from their own accounts, and

Account
of the Qua-
kers, &c.

and in their own words, referring the more inquisitive enquirer to their particular writings, for further information.*

Evidences
of God's
providence,
in the rise
of the Qua-
kers.

Nothing can be a more signal evidence of an over-ruling Providence, superintending the works of the creation, and directing the end of things, than the rise of good out of evil; and the conversion of the wicked machinations of perverse mankind to good purposes: that out of persecution and hatred should spring charity, and mutual benevolence; that from tyranny and ignorance should flow rational liberty, and true knowledge, is as manifest a demonstration of an all preserving cause, as the creation itself is evident of its own existence: this appears, in part, from the rise of the religious people called *Quakers*, and the settling of the flourishing province of *Pennsylvania*.

Time of
the rise of
the Qua-
kers.

Near the middle of the 17th. century, during the civil war, in *England*, when men were tearing each other in pieces, and when confusion and bloodshed had overspread the nation, many sober and thinking persons of the different religious societies, weighing the uncertainty of human affairs, and beholding the various vicissitudes in the political system, after having examined the many vain and futile opinions, and absurd customs, in religion, which were either imposed, practised or insisted on, by the various professors of *Christianity*, under all denominations, in that country, withdrew themselves from their assemblies for divine worship; and, having their minds turned to what appeared to them more rational, and consistent with a rightly informed understanding, and a life more congruous, or agreeable, to the mind of that Deity which is spiritual, and communicates his goodness and knowledge

* Among other writings of this people, the reader is referred to the following:

Their history, by W. Sewel, in folio, and by J. Rutty, in 4to. Their sufferings, in two vols. folio, by Jos. Bessé, also to the works, or writings, of R. Barclay, W. Penn, G. Fox, M. Penington, Samuel Fisher, Ed. Burroughs, Fr. Howgill, Thomas Story, with many others.

knowledge more nearly through a medium of his own nature; and places the human mind above the reach of terrestrial influence; they thence fell into that practical belief, and *christian* conduct, which gave rise to this religious society.*

It was not till the year 1650, that the name of *Quakers* was imposed on them; who before had generally gone under the denomination of *professors*, or *children*, of *the light*; but the most common appellation, by which they distinguished themselves from others, and even to this day, is by the name of *Friends*. When first called Quakers. 1650.

“Now these people (saith *Robert Barclay*, one of their early and principal writers) who hold forth the principles and doctrines hereafter to be mentioned, were not gathered together by an unity of opinion, or by a tedious and particular disquisition of notions and opinions, requiring an assent to them, and binding themselves by leagues and covenants thereto; but the manner of their gathering was by a secret want; which many truly tender and serious souls in divers and sundry sects, found in themselves, which put each sect in search of something beyond all opinion; which might satisfy their weary souls, even, the revelation of God’s righteous judgment in their hearts, to burn up the unrighteous root and fruits thereof; that, the same being destroyed, and done away, the inward peace and joy of the holy spirit, in the soul, might be felt to abound, and thence power and life to follow him, in all his commandments. And so many came to be joined and united together in heart and spirit, in this one life of righteousness, who had been long wandering in Cause and manner of their first rise and uniting in society.

* It may be here noted, that the same unhappy and distracted times likewise originally gave rise to the institution of the *Royal Society*, in *London*: When men were tired out with wars, contentions, and the changes consequent thereon, divers persons of genius and fortune began to turn their minds from the broils of state affairs, to a philosophic life; and by degrees formed that venerable body, for the promotion of science and natural knowledge; a society, which has done no small honour to the *British* nation, and has been of great benefit to mankind.

Vide *spectator*, No. 262, on the rise of the *R. Society*.

in the several sects; and by the inward unity, came to be gathered in one body; from whence, by degrees, they came to find themselves agreed in the plain and simple doctrines of *Christ*. And as this inward power,* they longed for, and felt, to give them victory over sin, and bring the peace, that follows thereon, was that, whereby they were brought into that unity and community together; so they came first thence to accord in the *universal* preaching of this power to *all*, and directing all unto it; which is the *first and chiefest principle* held by them, *viz.*

First and
chief prin-
ciple of the
Quakers.

“ That there is somewhat of God, some light, some grace, some power, some measure of the spirit, some divine, spiritual, heavenly, substantial life and virtue, in all men; which is a faithful witness against all unrighteousness, and ungodliness in the heart of man, and leads, draws, moves and inclines the mind of man to righteousness, and seeks to leaven him, as he gives way thereunto, into the nature of itself; whereby an inward, thorough and real redemption may be wrought in the hearts of all men, of whatsoever nation, country or kindred they be, notwithstanding whatsoever outward knowledge, or benefit, they may be, by the providence of God, deprived of: because whatsoever they want of that, yet such a measure of this light, feed, life and word, is communicated to all, as is sufficient truly to convert them from the evil of their ways, purify and cleanse them, and consequently bring them to salvation. And in the affirming of this, they do

* Whence the name of Quakers imposed —

It may be observed, “ that through the deep and inward operation of this *power* in them, a dread took hold on them, not only to the begetting of God’s fear in their hearts, but even to the reaching and instructing of their outward man, hence the name of *Quakers*, or *Tremblers*, hath been in reproach, by their enemies cast upon them, which serveth to distinguish them from others, *though not assumed by them*; yet as the *Christians* of old, albeit the name of *Christian* was cast upon them by way of reproach, gloried in it, as desiring, above all things, to be accounted the followers of *Christ*; so they also are glad the world reproacheth them as such, who *tremble before the Lord, and who work out their salvation in fear and trembling.*”

R. Barclay.

not at all exalt *self*, or *nature*; (as do the Socinians) in that they freely acknowledge that man's nature is defiled and corrupted, and unable to help him one step, in order to salvation; judging nothing more needful than the full and perfect denial and mortification of self, in order thereunto. Nor do they believe this seed, light and grace to be any part of man's nature; or, any thing that properly, or essentially, is of man; but that it is a free grace and gift of God, freely given to *all men*, in order to bring them out of the *fall*, and lead them to life eternal. Neither do they suppose this seed, word and grace, which is sufficient to lead to salvation, to be given to men *without Christ*; for they believe it to be the purchase of *Christ's death, who tasted death for every man*: so that they confess all to be derived to them in and by *Christ*, the mediator; to whom they ascribe all. Yea, they believe this light, grace and seed to be no other, but a measure of that life and spirit, that was in *Christ Jesus*; which, being in *him*, who is the head, in the fullness of it, is from *him*, (in whom it resideth) as he is ascended up unto, and glorified in, the heavens, *extended to all men*, in order to redeem them from sin, and convert them to God."

"Thus, according to this principle, without attributing any thing to *self* or to the nature of man, or, claiming any thing without *Christ*, the *universal love of God to all men* is exhibited; whereby the means of salvation by *Christ*, and reconciliation unto God, is so asserted, that *no man* is altogether excluded from it, but each so reached, as puts him into a capacity to be saved."

Hence, as it naturally arises from this *universal principle*, the *church Catholic, or universal*, without which there can be no salvation, is by them understood to comprehend all persons, or so many, of every nation and kind of people, without exception, whether they have the knowledge and benefit

Definition
of the
church Ca-
tholic, or
universal,
&c.

Barclay's
apology.

ness of the *scriptures* and *christianity* outwardly by word or not, as are obedient to the principle of the holy light and testimony of God, in their hearts, so as thereby to become cleansed and sanctified; of which *Catholic church* there may be members both among Heathens, Turks, Jews, and all the several sorts of *Christians*.

Particular
outward &
visible
church
Ibid.

And this they think may not be derogatory from the propriety and necessity of a particular *outward visible church of Christ*; which is absolutely requisite, where God affords the opportunity of the knowledge of *christianity*; as it consists of a society, or number of persons, who, through the belief of the true principles and doctrines of the *christian faith*; their hearts being united by the same love of God, and their understandings informed in the same truths, associate and assemble together, for *divine worship*; to bear a joint testimony for the *truth*, against *error*; and for the mutual edification and strengthening of one another:—So that a person may be a member of the true *Catholic church*, who, at the same time, may not be a member of any particular *church of Christ*: but, that no man can properly be a real member of a particular *church of Christ*, who is not one of the *Catholic church*; and that the outward testimony and profession of *christianity* can only be requisite to be believed and held forth, where it is known, or revealed, and not otherwise.

Of their
worship.

Consistent with the nature of this *universal principle*, and the definition of the church arising therefrom, appears to be their *worship*; which, according to the account of it, given by themselves, was more divested of those numerous external and bodily exercises and performances, which either the ignorance or ingenuity of men, had introduced, under the specious pretence of thereby rendering themselves more acceptable to a *spiritual Being*, than that of any other religious societies, known to them.

them, at that time, under the name of *Christians*:—
 A worship, which they professed to be *spiritual*, and performed in the mind; not being confined to particular persons, times, places, nor ceremonies; but more congruous to, or consistent with the nature of a spiritual divinity, the object of all true *worship*, according to the *New Testament*; which expressly declares, “*that the worship of God ought to be performed in spirit and in truth, and not to be confined to any external mode, place or particular person; and for this reason, because God is a spirit; and consequently a spiritual worship is the sole rational, and most agreeable to his nature.*”—This is the only precept, or declaration, concerning *divine worship*; and the manner of it, which is left us by the author of *Christianity*.

Hence saith R. Barclay, “Albeit, I say that this worship is neither limited to times, places nor persons; yet I would not be understood, as if I intended the putting away all set times and places to *worship*: God forbid I should be of such an opinion. Nay, we are none of those that *forsake the assembling of themselves together*; but have even, certain times and places, in which we carefully meet together to wait upon God, and worship him. To meet together we think necessary for the people of God; because, so long as we are clothed with this outward tabernacle, there is a necessity to the entertaining of a *joint and visible fellowship*, and bearing of an outward testimony for God, and seeing of the faces of one another; that we may concur with our persons, as well as spirits;”—which meeting together is no part of worship in itself, but only a preparatory accommodation, in order to a public visible worship; which consists, when met, in a silent watching and waiting upon God in themselves, (or in their minds) and a being gathered from all visibles thereinto. And as every one is thus stated, they come to find the good over the evil, and the pure over the impure; in

Barclay's
apology.

Worship of
the Qua-
kers.

which God reveals himself, and draweth near to every individual; and so he is in the midst, in the general; whereby each not only partakes of the particular refreshment and strength, which comes from the good in himself, but is a sharer of the whole body, as being a living member of the body, having a just fellowship and communion with all. And, as this worship is stedfastly preached, and kept to, it becomes easy; though it be very hard, at first, to the natural man; whose roving imaginations, and running worldly desires, are not easily brought to silence.”—“And, as every one is thus gathered, and so met together inwardly, in their spirits, as well as outwardly, in their persons, there the secret power and virtue of *life* is known to refresh the soul, and the pure motions and breathings of God’s spirit are felt to arise; from which, as words of declaration, prayers or praises, arise, the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well pleasing to God. And no man here limits the spirit of God, nor bringeth forth his own conned and gathered stuff; but every one puts that forth, which the Lord puts into their hearts; and it is uttered forth, not in man’s *will and wisdom*, but in the *evidence and demonstration of the spirit and of power*. Yea, though there be not a word spoken, yet is the true spiritual worship performed, and the body of Christ edified; yea, it may and hath often fallen out among us, that divers meetings have passed without one word; and yet our souls have been greatly edified, and our hearts wonderfully overcome with the secret sense of God’s power and spirit; which, without words, have been ministered from one vessel to another.”—“Many are the blessed experiences, which I could relate of this *silence*, and manner of *worship*; yet I do not commend, and speak of *silence*, as if we had a law in it, to shut out praying or preaching, or tied ourselves thereunto; not at all: For, as our worship consists not in the *words*, so
neither

neither in *silence*, as *silence*; but in *an holy dependence of the mind upon God*: from which dependence *silence* necessarily follows, in the first place, until words can be brought forth, which are from God's spirit. And God is not wanting to move, in his *children*, to bring forth words of exhortation, or prayer, when it is needful; so that of the many gatherings and meetings of such as are convinced of the truth, there is scarce any, in which God raiseth not up some or other, to minister to his brethren; that there are few meetings, that are altogether *silent*."—"And when any are, through the breaking forth of this power, constrained to utter a sentence of exhortation or praise, or to breathe to the Lord, in prayer, then all are sensible of it; for the same life in them answers to it, as, in *water*, *face answereth to face*."—"And there being many joined together in the same work, there is an inward travail and wrestling; and also, as the measure of grace is abode in, an overcoming of the power and spirit of darkness (in the mind:) and thus we are often greatly strengthened and renewed in the spirits of our minds, without a word, and we enjoy and possess the *holy fellowship and communion of the body and blood of Christ*; by which our inward man is nourished and fed; which makes us not to dote upon outward *water*, and *bread* and *wine*, in our spiritual *things*."—"This is that *divine and spiritual worship*, which the world neither knoweth nor understandeth, which the *vulture's eye* seeth not into."—"And its excellency is such, that it can neither be stopped, intercepted nor counterfeited by the malice, or power of men or devils, as all others can."

As that, which is necessary to make a man a *Christian*, so as without it he cannot be truly one, must consequently be much more necessary to make ^{Of their} *men* a minister of *Christianity*, (seeing the one is ^{ministry.} a degree above the other, and has it included in it) this people accordingly maintained that, as the inward

Barclay's
apology.

The qualifi-
cation, call,
and title of
their mini-
sters.

inward call, power and virtue of the spirit of God is indispensably necessary to make a man a true Christian, so it must of consequence be much more so, for the qualification of the ministry; without which they believe none can possibly be a true minister of the *new testament*; inasmuch that they assert, "that not only in a general apostacy it is needful men be extraordinarily called, and raised up by the spirit of God; but that, even when several assemblies, or churches, are gathered by the power of God, (not only into the belief of the principles of truth, so as to deny errors and heresies, but also into the life, spirit and power of *Christianity*, so as to be the body and house of *Christ* indeed, and a fit spouse for him) that he, who gathers them, doth also, for the preserving them in a lively, fresh and powerful condition, raise up, and move, among them, by the inward immediate operation of his own spirit, *ministers* and *teachers*, to instruct, teach and watch over them: who being thus *called*, are manifest in the hearts of their brethren; and their *call* is thus verified in them; who, by the feeling of that life and power, that passeth through them, being inwardly builded up, by them daily, in the *most holy faith*, become the seals of their *apostleship*. And this is answerable to the saying of the apostle *Paul*: "since ye seek a proof of *Christ's* speaking in me, which to you-wards is not weak, but is mighty in you."—"So this is that, which gives a *true, substantial call and title to a minister*; and not of the bare name: And to such *ministers* we think the outward ceremony of *ordination*, or *laying on of hands*, not necessary:"—neither are the outward qualifications of letter-learning, and school divinity absolutely requisite." * "But, in a true church of *Christ*

* Though they held, as above, a spiritual teaching and instruction, in the mind, most suitable, reasonable, adequate and necessary to a spiritual intelligence in religion, yet they never meant thereby that natural science and the knowledge of languages and literature, &c. were not useful, as the proper means, or medium, of communicating external knowledge and

See R. B's
writings,
&c.

Christ gathered together by God, not only into the belief of the *principles of truth*, but also into the power, life and spirit of *Christ*, the spirit of God is the orderer, ruler and governor; as in each particular, so in the general. And when they assemble together, to wait upon God, and to worship and adore him; then such as the spirit sets apart for the ministry, by its divine power and influence, opening their mouths and giving them to exhort, reprove and instruct with virtue and power; these are thus of God *ordained and admitted* into the *ministry*; and their brethren cannot but hear them, and receive them, and also *honour them for their works sake*. And so this is not monopolised to a certain kind of men, as the *Clergy* (who are to that purpose educated and brought up, as other carnal artists) and the rest to be despised as *Laicks*; but it is left to the *free gift of God* to choose any whom he seeth meet thereunto, whether rich or poor, servant or master, young or old, yea, male or female. And such as have this *call* verify the gospel, by *preaching not in speech only, but also in power*, and in the holy ghost, and in much fulness; and cannot but be received and heard by the *Sheep of Christ*."

William Penn, in his account of the *rise and progress* of this people, printed among his literary works, further observes:—"And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burden of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal

See W.
Penn's *rise*
and *pro-*
gress of the
Quakers.
1694.

and information among mankind, even, in religious affairs; (which is plainly manifested in the labours and literary works of this very author, R. Barclay, and divers others of that society) as well as in the common outward concerns of life, and those things, for which they are adequate and suitable: and therefore, they had schools and seminaries of learning among them, for the acquisition thereof, and other useful sciences, as other people have. But their excluding literature, or school-learning, from being *absolutely* necessary in divinity, according to the *Christian* system; and the great harm, which they believed and declared the general perversion, or misuse thereof, had produced in Christendom, occasioned divers of them to be so severe on the subject, that many, from thence, have mistakenly supposed, they entirely disapproved of human learning in every respect.

nal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his many-fold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof *what God had done for them*; what they had found, and where and how they had found it, *viz. the way to peace with God*; inviting all to come and see and taste, for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them."

The manner and purport of their preaching.

"And as their testimony was to the *principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom*, as the only blessed means, appointed of God, to quicken, convince and sanctify men; so they opened to them what it was in *itself*, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their *own spirit* and *that* of the subtil appearance of the *evil one*: and what it would do for those, whose minds should be turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin, in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions; giving power to such, to avoid and resist those things, that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith and good works: that so man, whom sin hath made a *wilderness*, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the *garden of God*, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right hand planting, to his eternal praise."

They could not pray & preach when they pleased, &c.

"But these *experimental preachers of glad tidings*, of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, nor pray or preach when they pleased, but, as Christ, their redeemer, prepared and moved them, by his own blessed spirit; for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them *utterance*; and which was, as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and

and formal *Pharisees*. And so it plainly appeared to the serious minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had, in any measure, opened: so that to one was given the word of *reproof*, to another the word of *exhortation*, to another the word of *consolation*, and all by the *same spirit*, and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many."

"And truly (saith *W. Penn*) they waxed strong and bold, through faithfulness; and by the power and spirit of the Lord *Jesus* became very fruitful; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the truth, in the inward parts, through their testimony, in ministry and sufferings; inasmuch as, in most countries, and many of the considerable towns of *England*, meetings were settled, and daily were added such as should be saved, for they were diligent to *plant* and to *water*; and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great *increase*; notwithstanding all the opposition, made to their blessed progress by the false rumours, calumnies and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them: so that they seemed, indeed, to be as *poor sheep appointed to the slaughter and as a people, killed all the day long*."—"So many and cruel were the sufferings of this people on a religious account, and, in part, recorded in their writings, which they endured from professors, as well as from profane, and from magistrates, as well as the rabble, that it may be truly said of this abused and despised people, they went forth *weeping*, and sowed in *tears*, bearing testimony to the *precious seed*, even, the *seed of the kingdom*, which stands not in *words*, the finest, the highest, that man's wit can use, but in *power*; the power of *Christ Jesus*, to whom God the Father, hath given *all power*, in heaven and in earth; that he might rule *angels* above, and *men* below; who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many, that were *turned*,

See their sufferings in 2 vols. fol. by Jos. Bessie, &c.

ed, through their *ministry*, from darkness to light; and out of the broad into the narrow way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, serious and God-like conversation, the practice of that doctrine, which they taught."

Of their ministers and ministry, W. Penn speaks as follows:

W. Penn on
their mini-
sters and
ministry,
&c.

1. "They were changed men themselves before they went abroad to change others. Their hearts were rent, as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made; and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation, that immediately followed upon it."

2. "They went not forth to preach in their own time, or will, but in the *will of God*; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his spirit; with which they were well acquainted, in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is as *Christ* said, *like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth*.— Yet this proof and zeal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life as thousands can witness. And as they freely received, what they had to say, from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others."

Barclay's
apology,
&c.

(And, as *R. Barclay* further observes on the subject) "they coveted no man's silver, gold nor apparel; fought no man's goods; but fought them, and the salvation of their souls: whose hands supplied their own necessities, working honestly for bread, for themselves and families. And if, at any time, they were called of God, so as the work of the Lord hindered them from the work of their trades, they took what was freely given them by such,

such, to whom they had communicated spirituals, and having food and raiment, were therewith content.

3. "The bent and strefs of their ministry (continues *W. Penn*) was *conversion* to God, *regeneration* and *holiness*. Not schemes of doctrines, and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonies, and formal part, and pressing earnestly, the *substantial*, the *necessary* and profitable part, to the soul.

4 "They directed people to a *principle in themselves*, though not of themselves, by which all, that they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test: for, as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction of this *principle*; which they asserted was in them, that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of these things, which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation, and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretend to."—"Thus this people did not only in words, more than equally with others, press repentance, conversion and holiness, but *over* and *above* did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those, to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it, to their souls' happiness; which is more than *theory* and *speculation*; upon which most other ministers depend: for here is certainty; a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God, in the great day of account.

5. "They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses or comments, upon scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living conscience. Infomuch, as it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state, or condition, to some choice friends, for advice, or ease; they have been so particularly directed, in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends, with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of *Christ*, "*Thou art the son of God, thou art the king of Israel.*" And those, that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity, that the woman of Samaria did of *Christ*, when in the flesh, to be the Messiah, viz. *It had told them all that ever they had done*; shewn them their infides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can, at this day, give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it, have not found true, and more; and that half had not been told them, of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom and goodness of God therein.

6. "The accomplishments, with which this principle fitted, even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service; furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding, in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expression,

expression, gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their master, "*Is not this such a mechanic's son? How came he by this learning?*" As from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate, they were *Jesuits* in disguise, who had the reputation of learned men for an age past, though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection, in that their ministers are known, the places of their abode, their kindred and education.

7. " That they came forth *low, despised and hated*, as the primitive *Christians* did; and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, have done: But, in all things, it may be said, *this people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide; that no flesh might glory before God.*

8. " They could have no *design* to themselves, in this work, thus to expose themselves to *scorn and abuse*; to spend and be spent: leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands; being daily in jeopardy, to declare this *primitive message*, revived in their spirits, by the good spirit and power of God, *viz.* That God is light and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his son, a light into the world, to enlighten all men, in order to salvation; and that they, that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, *viz.* in disobedience to the light in their consciences, and after the vanity of this world, they *lie*, and do not the *truth*. But, that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of *Jesus Christ*, his Son, should cleanse them from all sin,

John i. ch.
4. and 19.
iii. ch. 20,
21. I. John
i. ch. 5, 6, 7.

9. "Their known great constancy and patience, in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it, and that sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruifings, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons. Four of them, in *New England*, dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching among that people; besides banishments, and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates; almost in all parts, not easy to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways, or means, as often as it was offered to them.

10. "That they did not only not shew any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; shewing mercy to those, who had none for them.

11. "Their plainness with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and public sins: and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory:—Also of some national judgments; as, of the *plague* and *fire* of *London*, in express terms; and likewise particular ones, on divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places, where they dwelt, which in time, may be made public for the glory of God."

Of their
doctrines.

"As to the *doctrine*, which they taught, (says the same author) having already given some account of their fundamental principle, their *characteristic*; or main distinguishing principle, *viz. the light of Christ within*; which is, as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines, that grew, and branched out from it, I shall, therefore, now speak of them, in their natural and experimental order.

Repent-
ance.

"First, *repentance* from dead works, to serve the living God; which comprehends three operations;
first

first, a *fight* of sin; secondly, a *sense* and *godly sorrow* for sin; thirdly, an *amendment* for the time to come. This was the repentance, they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle, they turned all people to. For of *light* came *fight*; and of *fight* came *sense* and *sorrow*; and of *sense* and *sorrow* came *amendment* of life. Which doctrine of *repentance* leads to *justification*; that is, *forgiveness* of sins, that are past, through *Christ*, the alone *propitiation* and the *sanctification* or *purgation* of the soul, from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the spirit of *Christ* in the soul; which is *justification*, in the complete sense of the word, comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they never had been committed, through the love and mercy of God in *Christ Jesus*; and the creatures being made inwardly *just*, through the cleansing and sanctifying power and spirit of *Christ* revealed in the soul, which is commonly called *sanctification*. But that none can come to know *Christ* to be their sacrifice, that reject him as their sanctifier; the end of his coming being to save his people from the *nature* and *defilement*, as well as *guilt*, of sin; and that, therefore, those that resist his light and spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

“From hence sprang a second doctrine, they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling, to all true Christians, viz. *perfection* Perfection from sin. from sin, according to the scriptures of truth; which testify it to be the end of *Christ*’s coming, and the nature of his kingdom; and for which his spirit was, and is given, viz. to be *perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect*; and *holy, because God is holy*.” And this the apostles laboured for; that the *Christians* should be *sanctified throughout, in body, soul and spirit*.” But they never held a perfection in *wisdom* and *glory* in this life, or from *natural infirmities*,
or

or *death*; as some have, with a weak, or ill mind, imagined, or insinuated against them.

“ This they called a *redeemed state*, *regeneration*, or the *new birth*: teaching every where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Eternal re-
wards and
punish-
ments.

“ Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of *eternal rewards and punishments*, as they have good reason; for else, of *all people*, certainly they must be the *most miserable*; who, for above forty years,* have been exceeding great sufferers, for their profession, and in some cases, treated worse than the worst of men; yea, as the *refuse* and *off-scouring* of all things.

“ This was the purport of their *doctrine* and *ministry*; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold, in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; which, generally speaking has been long lost, by men’s departing from that *principle and seed of life*, that is *in man*; and which man has not regarded, but lost the *sense* of; and in, and by which only, he can be quickened in his mind, to serve the living God, in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God, after their *own wills*, and not after the *will of God*, nor the mind of *Christ*, which stood in the works, and fruits of the *holy spirit*; so that which they pressed was not *notion*, but *experience*; not *formality*, but *Godlinefs*; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God’s righteous judgments, that, without holiness, no man shall see the Lord with *comfort*.”

Having thus far mentioned the manner of the first rise of this people, with their prime, or fundamental principle, and some of their chief doctrines,

* W. P. writ this about the year 1694.

trines, arising from it, in the next place, follows an account of that order, and discipline, with divers customs, more peculiar to themselves, than to others, into which as a reformed society, by the same principle they professed themselves to be led and brought; and of that innocent, exemplary and uniform life and conduct, for which, consistent therewith, they are said to have been very remarkable among all sorts of people, to whom they were known, in early time.

Of their
other doc-
trines, cus-
toms and
discipline.

Of these customs, doctrines and practices, or manners, for which they were, and still are, more particularly distinguishable, I shall first observe, that though some of them may probably appear singular, or trivial to strangers, and to those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the moderation and sincerity of this people, yet, as they profess them to arise from this fundamental and universal principle, held by them, as before mentioned; from which all the virtues spring, and every practice is more or less important, and not from any whimsical, or selfish humour, or desire to appear singular, so, in this light, if it be granted as reasonable, a contrariety of conduct will rather appear, and ought to be accounted, singular, strange or out of the way;—seeing, it is very plain, their adversaries themselves, in placing so much stress, as they have done, on the practice of the contrary, in the view of this people, indefensible, have rendered some of these apparently insignificant things of much greater importance than they would otherwise have been; I shall therefore, in this abstract, arrange them under certain following heads, referring to their own writings, for their *reasons* and *probatons* of their use and practice, *viz.*

1. Their justice, veracity and true christian fortitude.
2. Their temperance and moderation.
3. Their charity, and loving one another.

1. Under the first of these *heads* it is not my intention to specify every particular, which may properly come under it, in respect to the just and due appropriation of the true and proper attributes and rights, of God and man respectively; but as their sense of justice and propriety, in these respects, went considerably higher, and led them further, in their practice, than that of other people, I shall, therefore, only mention those things, for which they were particularly distinguished from them, *viz.*

Their dis-
use of com-
pliments,
&c.

First, Their disuse of vain compliments, and flattering titles, bowing, kneeling, and uncovering the head to mankind; and their using the singular language, *thou* and *thee*, to a single person, in discourse, according to the true form of speech; though so contrary to the general practice of people in common; believing all tokens of adoration and worship belong to God only; and that plain, but civil language, and true speeches are most becoming the professors and followers of truth. Respecting these and other things of that nature, *R. Barclay* observes;—"I would not have any judge, that hereby we intend to destroy the *mutual relation* that either is betwixt *prince and people, master and servant, parents and children*; nay, not at all; we shall evidence that our principle in these things, hath no such tendency, and that these natural relations are rather better established, than any ways hurt by it."—"Thus (says *W. Penn*) *not to respect persons*, was, and is another of their doctrines and practices; for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful, to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect; though to virtue and authority they ever made a *difference*; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way; well remembering the good examples of *Mordecai* and *Elibu*, but more especially the command of their lord and master, *Jesus Christ*;

They do
not respect
persons.

Christ; who forbade his followers to call men, *Rabbi*; which implies *Lord* or *Master*; also the fashionable *greetings* and *salutations* of those times; that so *self love* and *honor*, to which the proud mind of man is incident in his *fallen state*, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable; yet they that will remember what *Christ* said to the *Jews*, "*How can you believe me, who receive honor one from another,*" will abate of their resentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them."

"They also used the plain language of *thou* and *thee* to a single person, whatsoever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the wisdom of God, was much seen, in bringing forth this people, in so plain an appearance: for it was a *close* and *distinguishing test* upon the *spirits* of those, they came among; shewing their *insides*, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, that they took very great offence at it; forgetting the language they use to God, in their prayers, and the common stile of the scriptures; and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech."

They speak the plain language *thou* and *thee*, to a single person.

"Nor could they humour the custom of *good night*, *good-morrow*, *God speed*; for they knew the *night* was good, and the *day* was good, without wishing of either; and that, in the other expression, the holy name of God was *too lightly*, and *unthoughtfully* used; and therefore, taken *in vain*. Besides, they were words and wishes of *course*, and are usually as little *meant*, as are *love* and *service*, in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in these, as well as in other things, was burdensome to them and therefore they did not only decline the use of them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice."

Some salutations not used by them.

To

They do
not observe
holy days
fast days,
&c.

To this place may be referred, their *non-observance* of those called *holy days*, and *days* appointed for *fastings*, *prayings* and *rejoicings*; as being religious ceremonies prescribed by men, whom they did not allow to have a just right to impose any religious practice on, or against, the conscience which is God's peculiar prerogative.

Their man-
ner of nam-
ing the days
of the week,
&c.

They were likewise in the custom of using the numerical names of the *months*, and *days* of the *week*, especially the latter; as, *first*, *second*, *third* day of the *week*, &c. instead of the vulgar names of the heathen gods, commonly used, and given to those days, by other people; and so inconsistent with a thorough christian practice, in that respect.*

They refuse
to pay
tithes,
church
rates, &c.

Secondly, Their refusing to pay *tithes* and *wages* towards the support of a ministry, from which they received no advantage, but entirely disowned, so unreasonably exacted of them by its advocates and votaries; of which says W. Penn, "Another part of the character of this people was and is, that they refuse to pay *tithes*, or maintenance to a national ministry; and that for two reasons; the one is, they believe all *compelled* maintenance, even to *gospel* ministers, to be unlawful; because expressly contrary to *Christ's* command, who said,
" *Freely*

82

* As our common names of the months were first imposed by the *Pagan Romans*; some of them in honor of their *gods*; as *January*, *February* and *March*; others, in complaisance to common strumpets; as, *April* and *May*; while others were denominated in honor of their *deified emperors*; as, *July* and *August*; most of the rest being numerical; so the vulgar names of the days of the week, now used, are handed to us from our heathen ancestors, the *Saxons*; which they are said to have introduced, in reference to their *idols*, which they, under particular representations, or figures, worshipped, as *gods*, on the respective days, appropriated for each of them; hence, to the first day of the week, on which they worshipped the *Sun*, they gave the name of *Sun's day*, or *Sunday*; and so of the rest; adoring the *Moon*, on *Monday*; and their idols *Tiufo*, on *Tuesday*; *Woden* on *Wednesday*; *Thor*, on *Thursday*; *Friga*, on *Friday*; and *Seater* on *Saturday*, calling it *Seater's day*, &c.—The *Quakers* thought the common names as expressed in the New Testament, more suitable and proper for the use of Christians, than the vulgar pagan appellation; and, even, preferable, setting aside Christianity, in the case: neither did they like the imitation thereof, in the names of popish saints, given to times and places, and other similar ceremonies and observations.

"*Freely you have received, freely give.*"—at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be *free*, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones; in that the *Holy Ghost* is not their foundation, but human arts and parts, so that it is not matter of humour, or fullness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries, where they dwell; which but too much, and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment."

Thirdly, Their great care and strictness, in rendering to *Cæsar*, according to their manner of expression, that is, to the *government*, its *dues*; in the punctual payment of taxes, customs, and discouraging all illicit and clandestine *trade*; and in being at a word in their dealings:—Inasmuch, that, in their particular printed advices to their brethren, they say,—“As the blessed truth, we profess, teacheth us to do justly to all men, in all things; even so more especially, *in a faithful subjection to the government*, in all godliness and honesty; continuing to render unto the king what is his due, in taxes and customs, payable to him according to law.”—“For our ancient testimony hath ever been, and still is, against defrauding the king of any of the above mentioned particulars, and against buying goods reasonably suspected to be *run*,”—“or doing any other thing whatsoever to the injury of the king’s revenue, or of the common good, or to the hurt of the fair trader; so, if any person or persons, under our name or profession, shall be known to be guilty of these, or any other such *crimes* and *offences*, we do earnestly advise the respective *monthly meetings*, (hereafter explained) to which such *offenders* belong, that they severely reprimand, and *testify against* such offenders, and their unwarrantable, clandestine, and unlawful actions;—we being under great obligations of gratitude, as well as *duty*, to manifest, *that we are*

They
strictly pay
their taxes
to the go-
vernment.

See Y.
meeting
epistle for
1715,
1719,
1732, &c.

are as truly conscientious to render to Cæsar the thing that are Cæsar's, as to support any other branch of our Christian testimony."—And so great was the importance of this affair with them, that an annual enquiry was regularly made through all parts of the British dominions, where they had members of society, whether the purport of these advices were duly put in practice, or not, and to enforce the same

They were at a word in their dealings. J. Ruttly.

"It hath moreover been a well known, distinguishing characteristic of this people, that anciently they did, from a religious principle, keep to a word, in buying and selling, and forbear that multiplicity of words, in making bargains; in which, how common soever among dealers, there wanteth not sin, as the wife man observes, nor very often deceit."—"For they were, (says W. Penn) at a word in their dealing; nor could their customers, with many words, tempt them from it, having more regard for truth, than custom; to example than gain."

They refrained from certain things accounted lawful, as the slave trade, &c.

Fourthly, As their justice was very remarkable in their strict and constant adherence to the laws not only respecting the government's dues, but in every other case, where their consciences, in reference to things of a religious nature, were not affected thereby; in which situation nevertheless they were always passive; so were they very particularly distinguishable for refraining from certain things, under the articles of trade, even, accounted lawful, or permitted by the laws of the land, where they lived, which they thought *unchristian*, or *unjust*; among which I find *the trading in slaves*; or the *importation of negroes* from their native country into other parts of the world, for *slaves*, was a practice ever highly censured, and a traffic never allowed among them, in *Great Britain*, though permitted and protected by the Legislature.*

See Y. meeting minutes, in M. S. for 1727, &c. J. Ruttly.

Fifthly,

* It may be noted, that, though some of this society, in America, in early time, when servants were very scarce, or assistance difficult to be

Fifthly, Their *truth speaking*, and *refusing to swear*, on any occasion; using the plain and simple affirmation and negative, instead of an oath. They refuse to swear on any occasion.

“Another doctrine of theirs (says *W. Penn*) was the *sufficiency of truth-speaking*, according to Christ’s own form of sound words, of *yea, yea; nay, nay*, among Christians, *without swearing*, both from Christ’s prohibition, *to swear not at all*, Matt. v. and for, that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their *Christian* veracity to assure their truth by such an *extraordinary* way of speaking; simple and uncompounded answers, as, *yea* and *nay*, (without asseverations, attestations, or supernatural vouchers) being most suitable to evangelical righteousness. But offering, at the same time, to be punished to the full, for *false speaking*, as others for *perjury*, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude with all true, *all false and profane swearing*, for which the land did, and doth mourn; and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it.”

Sixthly, Their cheerfully and valiantly suffering, both in person and estate, from all ranks of people, for their conscientious non-compliance with the vulgar and unreasonable customs of the times, in which they lived, without endeavouring any retaliation, when in their power; their steady perseverance, in patiently and passively enduring, for a long

Their valiantly suffering for their testimony.

got, in that country, inadvertently fell into the practice of purchasing these *negro-slaves*, after they were imported, and others receiving them by inheritance, &c. whereby formerly, in this part of the world, divers of them became possessed of these people:—Yet this unnatural traffic there has been since, and is now, justly and entirely disapproved and forbidden among them, *in all its branches*:—A trade so monstrous and abominable, so unparalleled, both in ancient and modern history, all its circumstances, cruelty, and the whole manner of carrying it on, being impartially and duly considered, that it seems unaccountable and astonishing, that any nation, at least, pretending to justice and christianity, should countenance or tolerate such a practice, such an unnatural, and most detestable traffic!—Nay in its consequences, most manifestly impolitic, as well as a most pernicious, diabolical and inhuman business! both in its present operation and consequential effects, &c.

long series of years, the rigour of such laws, as either designedly, or otherwise, affected their consciences, and were used to force, or compel, conformity, in religious matters; which they always distinguished from civil affairs, so abundantly demonstrate the Christian patience and fortitude of this people, that it would fill a large volume to specify only the principal, or at least, the common incidents of this nature, which have been conspicuous among them: therefore, referring to their own writings, for an account of them, I shall only here insert what *R. Barclay* mentions, in short, on this point, in addressing *his apology for the true Christian Divinity*, as held by this people, to *king Charles the second*; who, after having hinted their hard and cruel sufferings, both under *Cromwell* and the *parliament*, and also after the king's restoration, says,—“ For indeed their sufferings are singular and obviously distinguishable from all the rest of such as live under thee, in these two respects.”

R. Barclay's apology, &c.

R. Barclay. “ *First*, In that, among all the plots contrived by others against thee, since thy return into *Britain* there never was any, owned by that people, found or known to be guilty (though many of them have been taken and imprisoned on such kind of jealousies) but were always found innocent and harmless as became the followers of Christ; not coveting after, nor contending for, the kingdoms of this world, but subject to every ordinance of man, for conscience sake.”

“ *Secondly*, In that, in the hottest times of persecution, and the most violent prosecutions of those laws, made against meetings, *being clothed with innocence*, they have boldly stood to their testimony for God, without creeping into holes, or corners, or once hiding themselves, *as all other dissenters have done*; but daily met according to the custom, in the public places appointed for that end

so that none of thy officers can say of them, that they have surpris'd them in a corner, overtaken them in a private conventicle, or caught them lurking in their secret chambers; nor needed they to send out spies to get them, whom they were sure daily to find in their open assemblies, testifying for God and his truth."

2. Under the *second head of temperance and moderation*, which were conspicuous through their whole conduct, it is not my design to enumerate every thing, practis'd by them, which properly belongs to these virtues; but only, as before, principally to exhibit wherein they were distinguishable from other people, in these respects. Second head.

First, Their *disuse of all gaming, and vain sports*; as the frequenting of *plays, horse-races, &c.* was a custom strictly and constantly adhered to by them; as being most consistent with a truly christian life; the use of these, and similar things, having, in their estimation, a manifest and infallible tendency to draw away, and alienate the human mind from the most important object of true happiness, as thus expressed by *R. Barclay*, viz. Their disuse of gaming, sports, plays, &c.

"It will not be denied but that men ought to be more in love of God, than of any other thing; for we ought to love *God above all things*. Now it is plain, that men, who are taken up with love, whether it be of women, or of any other thing, if it hath taken a deep place in the heart, and possess the mind, it will be hard for the man so in love, to drive out of his mind the person, or thing so beloved; yea, in his eating, drinking and sleeping, his mind will always have a tendency that way; and in business, or recreations, however intent he be in it, there will be but a very short space of time permitted to pass, but his mind will let some ejaculation forth towards its *beloved*. And albeit such an one must be conversant in those things, that the care of this body, and such like things call for; yet R. Barclay.

yet will he avoid, as death itself, to do those things that may offend the party so beloved, or cross his design in obtaining the thing so earnestly desired. though there may be some small use in them, the great design, which is chiefly in his eye, will balance him, that he will easily look over, and dispense with such petty necessities, rather than endanger the loss of the greater by them. Now, the men ought to be thus *in love with God, and the life to come*, none will deny; and the thing is apparent from these scriptures, Matt. vi. 20. *but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.* Col. iii. 2. *set your affections on things above, &c.* and that this hath been the experience and attainment of some the scripture also declares, Psalm lxiii. 1, 8. 2 Cor. v. 2."

" And again, that these games, sports, plays, dancings, comedies, &c. do naturally tend to draw men from *God's fear*; to make them forget *heaven, death and judgment*; to foster *lust, vanity and wantonness*; and therefore are most *beloved*, as well as *used* by such kind of persons, experience abundantly shews, and the most serious and conscientious, among all, will scarcely deny; which it be so, the application is easy."

They avoided superfluity, &c.

Secondly, They avoided superfluity in the general course of their living; observing such a temperate medium in the use of things, as they were sensible conduced most to a good state both of body and mind; which distinguished them from others, not only in their *eating and drinking*, in their *conversation and discourse*, being generally a few words, but pertinent; but also in the *furniture of their houses*, their *apparel, or dress*; and in the *births, marriages and funerals*; and not only so but they even sometimes, condemned and disused what only had a tendency to excess;—" Thus (says *N Penn*, on the custom of drinking healths) the forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them as the manner of the world is: a practice, that

They did not drink healths, &c.

not only unnecessary but they thought, *evil*, in the tendencies of it, being a *provocation* to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself *vain and heathenish*."

But, in regard to several of such things, and the proper use of temporal enjoyments, *R. Barclay* further observes:—"Let not any one judge, that from our opinion in these things, any necessity of *levelling* will follow; or, that all men must have things in *common*; our principle leaves every man to enjoy that peaceably, which either his own industry, or his parents, have purchased for him; only he is thereby instructed to use it aright, both for his own good and that of his brethren; and all to the glory of God: in which also his acts are to be *voluntary*, and in no ways *constrained*. And further, we say not hereby, that no man may use the creation more or less than another: for we know, that as it hath pleased God to dispense it diversely, giving to some more, and to some less, so they may use it accordingly."—"The safe place then is, for such as have fulness, to watch over themselves, that they use it moderately, and rescind all superfluities, being willing, as far as they can, to help the need of those, to whom Providence hath allotted a smaller allowance. Let the brother of high degree rejoice, in that he is abased; and such as God calls, in a low degree, be content with their condition, not envying those brethren, who have a greater abundance; knowing they have received abundance, as to the inward man; which is chiefly to be regarded. And therefore, beware of such a temptation, as to use their calling as an engine to be *richer*, knowing they have this advantage beyond the *rich* and *noble*, that are called, that the truth doth not any ways abase them, nay, not in the esteem of the world, as it doth, in the others; but that they are rather exalted thereby, in that, as to the inward and spiritual fellowship of the

They are
not for le-
velling, &c.

saints, they become the brethren and compa of the *greatest* and *richest*; and, in this respect *him of low degree rejoice that he is exalted.*"

Of their christian charity.

As to the *third head*, in what manner they and practised *christian charity*, in its highest sublime sense, appears, in part, from what has been already said of their *first and chief principle* respecting some particular branches I shall find mention from *W. Penn*:

Their loving one another.

First, "*Communion, and loving one another*" This is a noted mark, (says *W. P.*) in the nature of all sorts of people, concerning them: *they meet, they will help and stick to one another*, where it is common to hear some say, *look how the Quakers love and take care of one another*. Other moderate, will say, *the Quakers love none but themselves*. And if *loving one another*, and having *intimate communion*, in religion, and constant to meet to worship God, and help one another, any mark of *primitive christianity*, they have blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner."

They did not go to law one with another.

Their entire disuse of *going to law* one with another was a singular instance of their high and steady and uniform practice of *christian and charity*:—"To go to law one with another (saith one of their writers) as it was among *primitive Christians*, is deemed an utter fault, breach of fellowship with them; and commencing or defending suits at law, in any case, without urgent necessity, is forbidden:"—Their differences and disputes, one with another, about their temporal affairs, when they happened, which was seldom, being generally composed and settled by arbitrators, or persons chosen, for that purpose, by the parties, among themselves, without going to law."*

Their loving enemies

Secondly, "*To love enemies*, (continues *W. P.*) this they both *taught and practised*. For they

* See *R. Barclay's* anarchy of the Ranters, &c. on this head.

not only *refuse* to be *revenged* for injuries done *them*, and condemned it, as of an unchristian spirit, but they did *freely forgive*, yea, *help and relieve* those, that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them: of which many and singular instances might be given: endeavouring through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and opposition; and preaching this doctrine, as *Christians*, for others to follow."

Thirdly, *Not fighting, but suffering*, is another ^{They did} testimony, peculiar to this people, in the words of ^{not fight} *W. Penn*, viz. "They affirm, That *Christianity* ^{but suffer,} ^{&c.} teacheth people to *beat their swords into plowshares*, and *their spears into pruning hooks*, and to *learn war no more*; that *so the wolf may lie down with the lamb*, and *the lion with the calf*, and *nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of the people*: exhorting them to employ their zeal against *sin*, and turn their anger against *Satan*, and no longer war one against another; because *all wars and fightings* come of men's own hearts lusts, according to the apostle *James*, and not of the meek spirit of *Christ Jesus*; who is captain of another *warfare*; and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as *truth* succeeded *swearing*, so *faith and patience* succeeded *fighting*, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to civil government; since if they cannot *fight for it*, neither can they *fight against it*; which is no mean security to any state: nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others, than they can do for themselves. And, Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with all its inconveniencies, is generally preferable. And though they were not for *fighting*, they were for *submitting* to government; and that not only for *fear*, but for *conscience sake*, where government doth not interfere with conscience; believing it to be an ordinance

nance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind.* Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have *felt* the *strokes* of it with a greater weight and rigour, than any other *persuasion*, in this age; while they, of all others, religion set aside, have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble, in the discharge of his office.”

Concerning this point it may be further observed from *R. Barclay*, *viz.*—“For it is as easy to obscure the sun, at mid-day, as to deny that the primitive Christians renounced all revenge and fighting, and although this thing be so much known, yet it is as well known, that almost all the modern sects live in the neglect and contempt of this law of Christ, and likewise oppress others, who in this agree not with them, for conscience sake towards God: even, as we have suffered much in this our own country, because we could neither ourselves bear arms, nor send others in our places, nor give our money for the buying of drums, standards, and other military attire. And lastly, because we could not hold our doors, windows and shops close, for conscience sake, upon such days as fasts and prayers were appointed, to desire a blessing upon, and success for, the arms of the kingdom, or commonwealth, under which we live; neither give thanks for the victories acquired by the effusion of much blood. By which forcing of the conscience they would have constrained our brethren, living in divers kingdoms at war together, to have implored our God for contrary and contradictory things, and consequently impossible; for it is impossible that two
parties

* It is observable, that though they absolutely declined all military service, not only in their persons, but also in their refusing to procure substitutes, or others, in their room, by hiring, or in anywise paying, or contributing for the personal service of such for them, in that capacity, or for any particular military purpose solely; yet in all other respects, they punctually and willingly paid their taxes, though of a mixed nature, that is both military and civil, for the support of government, as before observed. Vide page 51.

parties fighting should both obtain the victory. And because we cannot concur with them, in this confusion, therefore, we are subject to persecution."

Fourthly, The last thing I shall mention under this head, is *their maintaining all their own poor, at their own expence*; or, without being chargeable to others, besides contributing towards the support of the poor of other societies, equally with themselves, in all common *poor rates* or *taxes*: inso-much that no such thing as a common beggar was permitted, or known, to be among them, of that society. For, as they suffered none of their society to be in so necessitous a condition, as others, so they were so careful in the education of their children and youth, that there were none among them, brought up without a competency of useful and plain learning; these things being annually and methodically enquired into, and strictly practised through the whole society, in every place. Thus, while, in these important matters, they were no ways burthensome to others, and while they contributed to other societies equally with themselves, in paying all *poor rates* and *taxes* of every kind, they were moreover and besides no less noted for most other acts of beneficence according to their stations in civil society; being ever among the first, in *works and institutions of charity*, where they lived, according to their abilities: so that in contributions of this nature, they were observed mostly either to be among the introducers or promoters of them, or otherwise distinguished for their liberal donations; and if any were in distress, they were generally known to be among the first to relieve them.

Their charity to the poor, &c.

As the practice of divers of these particulars, mentioned under the preceding heads, made them appear, at first, very singular to many in all ranks and societies of people; from whom they suffered much

These things made the Quakers appear singular, &c.

much ridicule, unmerited abuse, and cruel persecution, chiefly on account of divers of these things; and as they still appear to be subject to something of the same nature, though in less degree, in some places, where they are but little known, and labor under false representations; and where ignorance and a blind zeal dispose people to reject and despise moderate enquiry; or where a strong attachment to old customs, however absurd, too frequently slights and refuses sober reasoning, on religious subjects, for unprofitable and acrimonious disputes, I shall, therefore, close this part with the following short conclusions, respecting them, from *R. Barclay*, viz.

Conclusions from *R. Barclay*.

“ But lastly, to conclude, if to give and receive flattering titles, which are not used because of the virtues inherent in the persons, but are, for most part, bestowed by wicked men upon such as themselves; if to bow, scrape and cringe to one another; if, at any time, to call one another *humble servant*, and that most frequently without any design of real service; if this be the honor that comes from God, and not the honor, that is from below, then indeed our adversaries may be said to be believers, and we condemned, as proud and stubborn, in denying all these things.

“ But if, with *Mordecai*, to refuse to bow to proud *Hamon*, and with *Elibu*, *not to give flattering titles to men, lest we should be reproved by our Maker*; and if, according to *Peter's* example, and the *angel's* advice, to bow only to God, and not to our *fellow servants*; and if, to call no *man* *lord* nor *master*, except under particular relations, according to *Christ's* command; I say, if these things are not to be reproved, then are we not blame worthy in so doing.

“ If to be vain and gaudy in apparel; if to paint the face and plait the hair; if to be cloathed with gold and silver, and precious stones; and, if to

to be filled with ribbands and lace, be to be clothed in modest apparel; and, if these be the ornaments of Christians; and, if that be to be humble, meek and mortified, then are our adversaries good Christians indeed, and we, proud, singular and conceited, in contenting ourselves with what need and convenience calls for, and condemning what is more, as superfluous; but not otherwise.

“ If to use games, sports, plays; if to card, dice and dance; if to sing, fiddle and pipe; if to use stage plays and comedies, and to lie, counterfeit and dissemble, be to fear always; and if that be to do all things to the glory of God; and if that be to pass our sojourning here in fear; and if that be to use the world, as if we did not use it; and if that be, not to fashion ourselves according to our former lusts; to be not conformable to the spirit and vain conversation of this world; then are our adversaries, notwithstanding they use these things, and plead for them, very good, sober and self-denying Christians, and we justly to be blamed, for judging them, but not otherwise.

“ If the prophanation of the holy name of God; if to exact oaths one from another, upon every slight occasion; if to call God to witness, in things of such a nature, in which no earthly king would think himself lawfully and honorably to be a witness, be the duties of a Christian man, I shall confess that our adversaries are excellent good Christians, and we wanting in our duty: but if the contrary be true, of necessity our obedience to God, in this thing, must be acceptable.

“ If to revenge ourselves, or to render injury, evil for evil, wound for wound, to take eye for eye, tooth for tooth; if to fight for outward and perishing things; to go a warring one against another, with whom we never saw, and with whom we never had any contest, nor any thing to do;
being

being moreover altogether ignorant of the cause of the war, but only that the magistrates of the nations foment quarrels against one another; the causes whereof are, for the most part, unknown to the soldiers, that fight, as well as upon whose side the right and wrong are; and yet to be so furious and rage one against another, to destroy all, that this, or the other worship may be received, or abolished; if to do this, and much more of this kind, be to fulfil the law of Christ, then are our adversaries, indeed, true *Christians*, and we miserable *heretics*, that suffer ourselves to be spoiled, taken, imprisoned, beaten and evilly treated, without any resistance, *placing our trust only in God* that he may defend us, and lead us, by the way of the *cross*, into his kingdom: but if it be otherwise, we shall certainly receive the *reward*, which the Lord hath promised to those, *that cleave to him*, and, in denying themselves, *confide in him*.

“ And, to sum up all, if to use all these things and many more, that might be instanced, be *to walk in the strait way, that leads to life; be to take up the cross of Christ; be to die with him to the lusts and perishing vanities of this world, and to arise with him in newness of life, and to sit down with him in the heavenly places*, then our adversaries may be accounted such, and they need not fear, they are in the *broad way which leads to destruction*; and we are greatly mistaken, that have laid aside all the things for Christ's sake, to the crucifying of our own lusts, and to the procuring to ourselves shame, reproach, hatred and ill-will, from the men of this world: not as if, by so doing, we judged to merit heaven, but, as knowing they are contrary to the will of him, who redeems his children from the love of this world, and its lusts, and leads them in the ways of *truth* and *holiness*, in which they take delight to walk.”

Of their marriages, births and burials, from W. Penn.

“ Their way of marriage is peculiar to them; and shews a distinguishing care, above other societies, professing *christianity*. They say that marriage is an *ordinance of God*; and that *God* only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore, they use neither *priest* nor *magistrate*; but the man and woman concerned take each other as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, *promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them*. But antecedent to this they first present themselves to the *monthly meeting*, for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another, as *husband and wife*, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it—they are constantly asked the necessary questions, as, in case of *parents* or *guardians*, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c.—The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons, to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents, or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next *monthly meeting*, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in the *meeting book*. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the *orphans*, before the meeting pass the proposals of marriage; advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours as they desire should be witnesses of the marriage; where they take one another by the hand, and, by name, promise reciprocally, love and fidelity, after

Of their
marriages,
&c.

the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate, is made; to which the said parties set their hands, thereby confirming it as their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators and auditors, set their names, as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting, where the marriage is solemnized, which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a *good marriage*, where it has been, by cross and ill people, disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of *priest* and *ring*, &c. ceremonies they have refused; not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded, in as much as no scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness, among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it, as an imposition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the use of the *ring*, it is enough to say, that it was an *heathenish* and *vain* custom, and never in practice among the people of God—Jews, or primitive Christians;—the words of the usual form, as, *with my body I thee worship*, &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any form now used; their care and checks being so many, and such as no *clandestine marriages* can be performed among them.”

Their
births.

“ It may not be unfit here to say something of their *births* and *burials*, which make up so much of the pomp of too many called *Christians*. For *births*, the parents name their own children; which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the *midwife*, if she can be there, and those that were at the *birth*; who afterwards sign a certificate for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child, or children; which is recorded

corded in a proper book, in the *monthly meeting*, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals."

"Their *burials* are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any public meeting place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those, that accompany it to the burying-ground. And it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering, for the burial, some or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together. After which the body is borne away by young men, or else by those, that are of the neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party; the corpse being in a *plain coffin*, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground they pause some time before they put the body into the grave; that, if any there should have any thing upon them, to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed; and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them, to reflect upon their own latter end: otherwise they have no set rites, or ceremonies, on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear *mourning*; they looking upon it, as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation, or friend, should be worn in the mind, which is only sensible of the loss: and the love they had to them, and the remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved, which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected, or undone;

Their burials.

undone: and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in."

These things not from affectation of singularity, &c. but a sense of duty, &c.

"These things, to be sure (continues *W. Penn*) gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality: who thought *them turners of the world upside down*; as, indeed, in some sense they were; but in no other than that, wherein *Paul* was so charged, viz. *to bring things back into their primitive and right order again*. For these, and such like practices of theirs, were not the result of *humour*, or for *civil distinctions*, as some have fancied, but a fruit of *inward sense*, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves, as a party from others; it being none of their business, as it was not their interest: no, it was not the result of consultation, or a framed design, by which to declare, or recommend *schism* or *novelty*. But, God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the *same glass of truth*; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life*; which are not of the father, but of the world. And from thence sprung, in the night of darkness, and the apostacy, which hath been over people, through their degeneration from the light and spirit of God, these, and many other vain customs, which are seen by the *heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul*, to be either wrong in their *original*, or by time and abuse, hurtful in their *practice*: and though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited, in such persons opinions, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of."

"It

“ It was not very easy, to our *primitive friends*, to make themselves *sights* and *spectacles*, and the *scorn* and *derision* of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it. But here was the wisdom of God seen, in the foolishness of these things; first, that they discovered the *satisfaction* and *concern*, that people had in, and for, the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another; the greatest *honesty*, *virtue*, *wisdom* and *ability* were *unwelcome* without them. Secondly, It *seasonably* and *profitably* divided conversation; for this, making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, gave them the opportunity of more *retirement* and *solitude*; wherein they met with better company, even, the *Lord God, their Redeemer*; and grew strong in his love, power and wisdom; and were thereby better qualified for his service. And the success abundantly shewed it: *Blessed be the name of the Lord.*”

“ And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of the world, (for then they had not wanted followers, upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the most *sober* of the several persuasions, they were in, and of the *most* *repute*, for religion; and many of them of good *capacity*, *substance* and *account* among men.”

“ And also some among them wanted not for *parts*, *learning* or *estate*; though then, as of old, not many *wise* or *noble*, &c. were called; or, at least, received the *heavenly call*; because of the cross, that attended the profession of it, in sincerity. But neither do parts or learning make men the better *Christians*, though the better *orators* and *disputants* and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. *Theory* and *practice*, *speculation* and *enjoyment*, *words* and *life*, are two things.”

Of

*Of their church discipline, from the same author—
W. Penn.*

Of their discipline, &c. In the next place, in order to form some idea of the religious care, discipline, and practice, which they used as a Christian and reformed society, also in a collective capacity, that they might live orderly and consistent with their principles and profession, the following extract, from *W. Penn.* exhibits the *church power*, which they owned and exercised, and that which they rejected and condemned, with the method of their proceedings against erring and disorderly persons, of their community, viz.

“ This people encreasing daily both in town and country, an *holy care* fell upon some of the *elders* among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business, in their view after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of *charity*; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Where *collections* were early and liberally made for the and divers other services, in the church, and trusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well doing, adding often of *their own*, in large proportions which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.”

“ They were also very careful, that every one who belonged to them, answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions that they lived *peaceably*, and were, in all things *good examples*. They found themselves engaged to record their *sufferings* and *services*; and in the case of *marriage*, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves; they took care that all things were clear between the parties, and all others, and i
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then rare, that any one entertained an inclination to a person, on that account, till he, or she, had communicated it secretly to some very weighty eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren, as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, number of orphans, marriages, sufferings and other matters, *multiplied*; and that it was good, the churches were in some way and method proceeding in such affairs, among them, to which they might the better correspond, upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord, in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the *first instrument of this dispensation of life*, George Fox, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt a holy concern to visit the churches, in person, throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them: and in his *epistles*, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad; which he also afterwards did and helped in that service.”-

G. Fox, the
first instrument,
&c.

Now the care, conduct and discipline I have been speaking of, and which are now* practised among this people, are as follow:

This *godly elder*, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every congregation of worship, should meet together, once in every month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, these *monthly meetings* were fewer, or more in number, in every respective county; four or six meetings of worship usually making one *monthly meeting of business*. And accordingly the brethren sent him from place to place, and began the said meetings, *viz.* for the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, deaths, sufferings, &c. And these *monthly meetings* should

should, in each county make up one *quarterly meeting* (held once every quarter of a year) where the most zealous and eminent friends of the count should *assemble*, to *communicate advice*, and *help one another*, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a *monthly meeting* was tender of determining a matter."

"Also that these several *quarterly meetings* should digest the reports of their *monthly meetings*, and prepare one for each respective county, once a year, against the *yearly meeting*, in which all *quarterly meetings* resolve; which is held in *London*. where the churches, in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet, by *chosen members* of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their *church affairs*, and to advise and be advised, in any depending case, to edification. Also to provide a *requisite stock*, for the discharge of general expences, for general services, in the church not needful here to be particularized."

"At these meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and *specify* their minds freely, in the fear of *God*, to the matter; but the mind of each *quarterly meeting* there represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed or chosen, for that service by the said meeting."

Of their
discipline,
&c.

"During their *yearly meeting*, to which the other meetings refer, in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken by a *select number* for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the *minutes* of the said meeting, upon the several matters, that have been under consideration therein, to the end that the respective *quarterly* and *monthly meetings* may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to *holiness*, *unity* and *charity*. "all which proceedings, in *yearly*, *monthly* and *quarterly* meetings, due record is kept by some one at point"

pointed for that service, or, that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God; who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as *signal evidences* of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings of worship."

"It is further to be noted, that, in these *solemn assemblies*, for the churches service, there is no one presides among them, after the manner of the assemblies of other people; *Christ* only being their *president*, as *he* is pleased to appear in life and wisdom, in any one, or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity, or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of *authority*, but *conviction*; which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people; making good his blessed promise, *that he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together, in his name, even, to the end of the world.* So be it."

"Now, it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of *authority* is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not, in their *lives*, with their *profession*, and that are *refractory* to this good and wholesome order, settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

Of their church power and authority.

"The power, they exercise, is such as *Christ* has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, *viz. to oversee, exhort, reprove, and, after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them*, as any more of their *communion*, or, that they will any longer stand charged, in the sight and judgment of *God* or *men*, with their conversation, or behaviour, as any of them, until they *repent*. The subject matter about which this authority, in

any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised is first, in relation to *common or general practice*. And, secondly, about those things, that more strictly refer to their own *character and profession*, and which distinguishes them from all other professors of *Christianity*; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, *viz. persecution and libertinism*; that is a coercive power, to *whip people in to the temple*; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished, in their *persons and estates*: or, leaving all loose, and at large, as to *practice*; and so unaccountable to a but *God and the magistrate*. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed, than the abuse of *church power*, by such as suffer their *profession*, and private interest to prevail with them, carry it to outward force, and corporal punishment. A practice, they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as the known principle for an *universal liberty of conscience*."

"On the other hand, they equally dislike *independency*, in society, an *unaccountableness* in *practice and conversation*, to the *rules and terms* of their own communion, and to those, that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing a practice, that immediately regards *faith or worship* (which is never to be done, or suffered, submitted to) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods, that only respect church business, in its more civil part and concern; and they regard the *discreet and orderly maintenance* of the character of the society, as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of *holiness and charity*, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their *own principles*, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession, without *rebuke*, is their use and limit of church power. They compel none to them; but oblig

oblige those that are of them, to *walk suitably*, or they are denied by them: that is all the *mark*, they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise upon those that are members of it."

"The way of their proceeding against such as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: He is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal, for the *good of his soul*, the *honor of God*, and *reputation* of their profession, to own his fault, and condemn it, in as ample a manner, as the evil, or scandal was given by him; which, for the most part, is performed by some *written testimony*, under the party's hand; and if it so happen, that the party prove *refractory* and is not willing to clear the *truth*, they profess, from the reproach of his, or her, evil doing, or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact, and the party offending: recording the same, as a testimony of their care for the honor of the truth, they profess."

"And if he, or she, shall clear the *profession*, and *themselves*, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are *received*, and *looked upon again as members of their communion*. For, as *God*, so his true people *upbraid no man* after repentance."

That the general conduct and practice of this people have been, in a remarkable manner, consistent with their profession, we are well assured, not only by the accounts given by themselves, but also by those of others, who appear to have been best acquainted with their manner of life, in early time;

Their consistency in conduct with their profession, &c.

time; and whose certain knowledge enabled them to speak with that moderation, which is divested of passion and prejudice; besides, it is manifest from the many acrimonious and abusive writings of their enemies themselves against them, yet extant, that their conformity to the principles and customs before mentioned, was the chief cause of the severe *persecution* and *suffering*; which they so long endured:—for which, if any instances of intemperate zeal, in early time, appeared in any individuals among them, (from which, probably, the first rise of no religious society has been entirely free) it seems to have been too much the delight of their adversaries to exaggerate and misrepresent them.—For, as they professed no theory, but what they chiefly derived from practice or conviction; nor speculation, but what they principally had from experiment, so it has been long observed, particularly in *Great Britain*, that, as a *ny* of the members of this society failed in the practical part, they consequently, for the most part, discontinued the profession, in proportion; and either went over to such other religious societies as place less stress on the practice of *Christianity* or of true religion; or else they made no formal profession of it at all, with any particular set of people: some apparently from an irreligious, mean and indolent, or depraved turn of mind; and others, probably, from looking upon all forms of religion, as *vain*; and that the knowledge of truth, and the interior of religion, or the intercourse between the creature and the Creator, depends not upon, nor is necessarily connected with, any fixed form; but is rather obscured, or impeded, by that attention, which such forms, in general require; or which ultimately have so much tendency to engross the minds of many people with that slavish formality, which is observable to terminate in mere religious superstition.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless it is well known, that in later times, divers among them have been observed, under the covering of a plain garb, and a formal compliance to sundry of these external customs, before mentioned, to make this profession an engine to accumulate wealth, and from an apparent zeal for their profession, in divers of those very things, without the possession of the real life, or substance, of it, have notwithstanding continued among them, and used that credit and reputation, which the society, in general, had acquired by a better principle, so as to obtain low, terrestrial enjoyments, and worldly advantages, even, beyond others of the same degree, or rank of people. For it cannot be reasonably supposed that every person who is born and educated, or brought up, merely in the form, is therefore consequently experienced in every practical truth of the profession, so much as those, who have embraced the same from real conviction and experience, in their own minds, unless they possess the same experience and enjoyment; which may, or may not be the case; for profession, or implicit belief, alone, cannot give a lively experience, nor a bare assent, convince the judgment.

But the Christian care of this society, as appears by their discipline, already mentioned, as well as by the many additions, since made by them, to this part of their religious œconomy, has not been small, to prevent and redress this evil, as well as to remedy all other deviations from the truth of their profession, and the primitive practice among them; which, in some or other of their members, cannot but sometimes happen, while in this frail and mortal state of existence:— Yet the result of this very care, so far, at least, as it respects the external obligations, upon the members of this society, and the many rules increased from time to time, among them, for that purpose, it is thought by some, has had this certain

See R. Barclay on universal love, &c.

tain and inevitable tendency, to render it, in fact more *formal*, and to distinguish it more, in reality, as a *sect*, than some of its first, or early principal founders, by their writings, appear to have intended; who would not admit of that name, in the natural contractedness of such a distinction particularly R. Barclay, and others among them.

I shall, therefore, after having, in a few words further expressed respecting them, in early times from two persons of eminence in their religious society, *W. Penn* and *W. Edmundson*, conclude this account. The former, addressing himself to the hearer speaks thus, *viz.*

W. Penn's account of the religious lives of the primitive Quakers.

“The glory of this day, and foundation of this hope, that has not made us ashamed since we were people,”—“is that blessed principle of light and life of *Christ*, which we profess, and direct all people to, as the *great and divine instrument* and agent in man's conversion to God. It was by this, that we were first touched, and effectually enlightened, to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end, causing us to set the *Lord* before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the *eye*, after the hearing of the *ear*, but according to the *light* and *sense* this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted, in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea towards *God*, our Maker: for, being quickened by it in our *inward man*, we could easily discern the difference of things and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what was not, both in reference to religion and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints; it was that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, *in love, faithfulness and fear.*”

“

“ In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the *Lord*, and waited to be prepared by it; that we might *feel drawings* and *movings*, before we approached the *Lord* in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our *comfort*, *service* and *edification*. And, as we ran faster, or fell short, in our services, we made burdens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves a rebuke, instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of *well done*, “ *Who has required this at your hands?*” In that day we were an exercised people; our very countenances and deportment declared it.”

“ Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the *young convinced*. Oft had we the burden of the word of the *Lord* to our *neighbours*, *relations* and *acquaintance*; and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail like-wise for one another’s preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness, or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt *God present*. which kept our conversation *innocent*, *serious* and *weighty*; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of this world. We held the truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own wills and affections, they were bowed and brought into subjection, inasmuch that it was visible to them, that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own *disposal*, to go where we list, or say, or do, what we list, or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of truth; and no *pleasure*, no *profit*, no *fear*, no *favour*, could draw us from this retired, strict and watchful frame. We were as far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could, pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people’s *unnecessarily*.”

“ Our words were few and *favcry*, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment
very

very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as *humorists*, *conceited*, and *selfrighteous* persons, &c. but it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions, or temptations to excite them abroad, in the converse of the world."

W. Edmundson's account of the religious lives of the primitive Quakers.

The words of *W. Edmundson*, on this head, are these,—“ At the first, when the Lord called and gathered us to be a people, and opened the eyes of our understandings, then we saw the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness that was in the world; and a perfect abhorrence was fixed, in our hearts, against all the wicked, unjust, vain, ungodly, unlawful part of the world, in all respects; and we saw the goodly, and most glorious *lawful things* of this world to be abused; and that many snares and temptations lay in them; and many troubles and dangers of divers kinds; and we felt the load of them, and that we could not carry them, and run the race, the Lord had set before us, so cheerfully as to win the prize of salvation; so that our care was to cast off this great load and burden of our great and gainful way of getting riches, and to lessen our concerns therein, to the compass that we might not be chargeable to any, in our stations and services required of us, and be ready to answer Christ Jesus, our Captain, that called us to follow him, in a spiritual warfare, under the discipline of his daily cross and self-denial; and then the things of this world were of small value with us, so that we might win Christ; and the goodliest things of the world were not near us, so that we might be near the Lord; and the Lord's truth outbalanced all the world, even the most glorious part of it. Then great trading was a burden, and
great

great concerns a great trouble; all needless things, fine houses, rich furniture, gaudy apparel, were an eye-sore; our eye being single to the Lord, and the insinuing of his light, in our hearts; which gave us the sight of the knowledge of the glory of God; which so affected our minds, that it stained the glory of all earthly things; and they bore no mastery with us, either in dwelling, eating, drinking; buying, selling, marrying, or giving in marriage. The Lord was the object of our eye; and we all humble and low before him, and self of small repute; ministers and elders, in all such cases, walking as good examples, that the flock might follow their foot-steps, as they followed Christ; in the daily cross of self-denial, in their dwellings, callings, eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying, and giving in marriage; and this answered the Lord's witness in all consciences, and gave us great credit among men."

Such appear to have been the people called *Quakers*, as to their first rise, principles, doctrines, religious system, and general practice, or manners, in early time; with whom *W. Penn* joined in society; such they appear to have been, who principally first settled *West Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*:—By a conduct influenced chiefly by the principles above mentioned has this country providentially advanced to that justly admired and happy state, and importance, for which, it has now long been growing more and more conspicuous:—Of this people as a religious society, I shall, at present take my leave, till I again revisit them, as transplanted from *Europe*, into these provinces, and observe their proceedings, in their new and political situation; in the mean time, I return to, and resume, my intermitted account of the life of *W. Penn*.

About this time (1668, and the twenty-fourth year of his age) *William Penn* published several of his first pieces, now extant in his printed works;

1668. one of which, entitled, "*The sandy foun-*
W. Penn's *shaken*," was written in consequence of a di-
first writ- which he had in *London* with one *Vincent*, a
ings, &c. byter. In this he exposed the vulgar noti-
the *Trinity*, and some other religious te-
which gave so much offence to those then
helm of the church, that they immediately
the old method of reforming what they call-
ror, by their strongest argument, viz. "*An*
for imprisoning him in the tower of London;"—
he was under close confinement, and even d-
the visits of his friends: but yet his enemies att-
not their purpose; for when, after some tim-
servant brought him word, that the bish-
London was resolved he should either public-
cant, or die a prisoner, he made this reply:
is well: I wish they had told me so before;
the expecting a release put a stop to some busi-
thou mayst tell my father, who, I know, wi-
thee these words; that my prison shall be my g-
before I will budge a jot; for I owe my consc-
to no mortal man. I have no need to fear;
will make amends for all. They are mistak-
me; I value not their threats and resolutions
they shall know I can weary out their malice
peevishness; and in me shall they all behold
solution above fear; conscience above cru-
and a baffle put upon all their designs, by the
of patience, the companion of all the tribu-
flock of the blessed *Jesus*, who is the author
finisher of the faith, that overcomes the w-
yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor
things were ever attained without loss and l-
ships. He that would reap and not labor
faint with the wind, and perish in disappointme-
but an hair of my head shall not fall without
providence of my Father, that is over all."

His impri-
sonment in
the tower
of London.

His resolu-
tion.

"A spirit warmed with the love of God" (the writer of his life) "and devoted to his ser-

ever pursues its main purpose: he, being now restrained from preaching, applied himself to writing; several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly, that excellent one, entitled, *No cross, no crown*; a book, which, tending to promote the general design of religion, was well accepted, and soon past several impressions."

He writes several treatises in the tower.

He also, in the year 1669, writ, from the tower, a letter to the lord *Arlington*, then principal secretary of state, by whose warrant he was committed, in vindication of his innocence, and to remove some aspersions cast upon him; in this letter, with Christian boldness, and elegance of style, he pleads the reasonableness of toleration in religion, shews the singular injustice of his imprisonment, and declares his firm resolution to suffer, rather than give up his cause; he likewise requests the secretary to lay his case before the king, and desires he may be ordered a release; but, if that should be denied, he intreats the favour of access to the royal presence, or at least, that the secretary himself would please to give him a full hearing, &c. And in order to clear himself from the aspersions, cast on him, in relation to the *doctrines of the Trinity*, the *incarnation*, and *satisfaction of Christ*, he published a little book called, "*Innocency with her open face*," by way of apology for the aforesaid, *Sandy foundation shaken*: in this apology he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after the publication thereof, he was discharged from his imprisonment; which had been of about seven months continuance.

1669.
He writes to the lord Arlington, &c.

He is discharged.

In the latter part of the summer this year, he went again to *Ireland*. Being arrived at *Cork*, he there visited his friends the *Quakers*, who were in prison, for their religion, attended the meetings of his society, and afterwards went from thence to *Dublin*; where an account of his friends sufferings being

He goes to Ireland.

being drawn up, by way of address, it was by him presented to the lord lieutenant.

His business there.

During his stay in *Ireland*, though his business, in the care of his father's estate, took up a considerable part of his time, yet he frequently attended, and preached in the meetings of his friends, especially at *Dublin* and *Cork*; in one of which places he usually resided. He also wrote, during his residence there, several treatises, and took every opportunity in his power, to solicit those in authority, in behalf of his friends in prison: and, in the beginning of the fourth month, 1670, through his repeated applications to the chancellor, the lord *Arran*, and the lord lieutenant, an order of council was obtained for their release. Having settled his father's concerns to satisfaction, and done his friends, the *Quakers*, many signal services, he shortly after returned to *England*.

1670.

1670.

He is committed to Newgate.

Famous trial of Penn and Mead.

In the year 1670 was passed the *conventicle act*, which prohibited the meetings of the dissenters, under severe penalties. The rigour of this law was immediately executed upon the *Quakers*; who not being used to give way, in the cause of religion, stood most exposed. They being kept out of their meeting house, in *Grace-church* street in *London*, by force, met in the street itself, as near it as they could: *W. Penn*, preaching here, was apprehended, and by warrant, dated August fourteenth, 1670, from *Sir Samuel Starling*, the lord mayor, committed to *Newgate*; and, at the next sessions, at the *Old Bailey*, was, together with *William Mead*, indicted for being present at, and preaching to, an unlawful, seditious and riotous assembly. At his trial he made such an excellent defence, as discovered at once both the free spirit of an *Englishman*, and the undaunted magnanimity of a *Christian*; insomuch that notwithstanding the most partial frowns and menaces of the bench, the jury

jury acquitted him. The trial itself was soon after printed; it exhibits a signal instance of the attempts of the ignorance and tyranny of that time; and may be seen in his printed works.

Not long after this famous trial, and his discharge from *Newgate*, his father died, entirely reconciled to his son; to whom, as before observed, he left both his paternal blessing, and a plentiful estate. His death-bed expressions, and last advice are very remarkable, instructive, and may be seen in *W. Penn's* treatise, entitled, *No cross, no crown*, among the sayings of other eminent persons.

His father's reconciliation and death.

He was about this time employed in defence of his religious principles, in a public dispute with one *Jeremy Ives*, a celebrated *Baptist*. Afterwards in the ninth month this year, being at *Oxford*, and observing the cruel usage and persecution, which his innocent friends suffered there from the junior scholars, too much by the connivance of their superiors, he wrote a letter to the vice chancellor, on the subject.

1670. He disputes with J. Ives and visits Oxford, &c.

In the winter, this year, having his residence at *Penn*, in *Buckinghamshire*, he published a book, entitled, "*A reasonable caveat against Popery*;" wherein he both exposes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the church of *Rome*, and establishes the opposite truths, by sound arguments; a work alone sufficient, on the one hand, to wipe off the calumny, cast upon him, of being a favourer of the *Romish* religion; and, on the other, to shew, that his principle being for an universal liberty of conscience, he would have had it extended, even to the *Papists* themselves, under a security of their not persecuting others.

He publishes a book against Popery, &c.

In the last month of this year, while he was preaching in a religious meeting of his friends, in *Wheeler-street*, *London*, he was forceably seized by a party of soldiers, sent thither for that purpose, and

He is taken and carried to the tower, &c.

and brought to the *tower*, by an order from the lieutenant. In his examination, on the occasion, before the lieutenant of the tower, Sir *John Robinson*, *Starling*, the lord mayor, and others, his behaviour was very remarkable, spirited and extraordinarily adapted to the nature of the occasion. It may be seen in the printed account of his life, prefixed to his literary works; in which, as the lieutenant's words and conduct appear high, imperious, and towards him manifestly inimical, so his replies were smart, sensible and bold: and, on the lieutenant's charging him with his having been as bad as other people, and that both at home and abroad, he received this remarkable answer from *W. Penn*, viz. "I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, justly to accuse me, with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, (much less that I ever made it my practice) I speak this to God's glory, that has preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that, from a child, begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, *that they were once as they are*, as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compass, or globe, men may be said to come from to the *Arctic pole*, but directly and immediately from the *Antarctic*. *Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander, as dirt, under my feet.*"

Remarkable answer.

Sent a prisoner to Newgate, and writes to the parliament.

He was sent prisoner to *Newgate* for six months; where, during his confinement, he wrote several treatises, and occasional pieces of controversy, extant in his works; and the parliament being about to take measures for enforcing with greater severity the aforesaid conventicle act, he whose freedom of spirit a prison could not confine from advocating the cause of liberty, wrote from the same place, the following paper, directed,

To

" *To the high court of Parliament.*"

" Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to make an act, entitled, "*An act for suppressing seditious conventicles, the dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, &c.*" and that, under pretence of authority from it, many have taken the ungodly liberty of plundering, pillaging and breaking into houses, to the ruin and detriment of whole families, not regarding the poor, the widow and the fatherless, beyond all precedent, or excuse; and, that we are informed it is your purpose, instead of relaxing your hand, to supply the defects of that act, by such explanatory clauses as will inevitably expose us to the fury and interest of our several adversaries; that under pretence of answering the intents of the said act, will only gratify their private humours, and doubtless extend it beyond its original purpose, to the utter destruction of us, and our suffering friends."

1671.
Applicati-
on to parli-
ament in
behalf of
his suffer-
ing friends.

" We, therefore, esteem ourselves obliged, in Christian duty, once more to remonstrate:"

" *First*, That we own civil government, or magistracy, as God's ordinance, for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them, that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws that prohibit us to worship God, according to our consciences, as believing it to be his alone prerogative, to preside in matters of faith and worship, yet we both own and are ready to yield obedience to every ordinance of man, relating to human affairs, and that for conscience sake."

" *Secondly*, That we deny and renounce, as an horrible impiety, all plots and conspiracies, or to promote our interest, or religion, by the blood and destruction of such as dissent from us, or yet those, that persecute us."

" *Thirdly*, That in all revolutions we have demeaned ourselves with much peace and patience
(disowning

(disfowning all contrary actings) notwithstanding the numerous prosecutions of cruel and ungod men; which is a demonstration of our harmful behaviour, that ought not to be of little moment with you."

"*Fourthly*, That as we have ever lived me peaceably under all the various governments, th have been since our first appearance, (notwithstan ing we have been as their anvil, to smite upon) we do hereby signify, that it is our fixed resolutio to continue the same; that where we cannot act ally obey, we patiently shall suffer, (leaving o innocent cause without daring to love ourselves un the death, for our blessed testimony's sake) ther by manifesting to the whole world, that we lo God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves.

"If this prevails not with you to suspend yo thoughts of reinforcing your former act, we c desire that we, or some of our friends, may recei a free hearing from you, (as several of us ha upon the first act for uniformity) having mar great and weighty reasons to offer against all suc severe proceedings, to the end all wrong measur of us, and of our principles, may be rectificed and, that you, being better informed of botl may remove our heavy burdens, and let the o pressed go free; for such moderation will be we pleasing both to God and good men."

"From us who are prisoners, at *Newgate* (fo conscience sake) on behalf of ourselves, and e our suffering friends in *England*, &c.

"*WILLIAM PENN and several others*

"*Newgate, Second month, 1671.*"

He travels
into Hol-
land and
Germany.

His six months imprisonment, in *Newgate*, b ing expired, he was set at liberty, and shortly a ter went into *Holland* and *Germany*. Of his bui nefs, or services, at this time, in these countrie I find no particular account, besides some sma mentio

mention made thereof, by himself, in his journal of his subsequent travels afterwards into those countries.

In the beginning of the year 1672, and the twenty-eighth of his age, he married *Gulielma Maria Springett*, daughter of Sir *William Springett*, formerly of *Darling* in *Suffex*; who was killed in the time of the civil wars, at the siege of *Bamber*; his widow was afterwards married to *Isaac Penington*, of *Peter's Chalfont*, in *Buckinghamshire*; in whose family her said daughter was brought up; a young woman, whom a virtuous disposition, joined to a comely personage, rendered well accomplished. Afterwards, pitching upon a convenient habitation at *Rickmersworth*, in *Hertfordshire*, he resided there with his family, often visiting the meetings of his friends.

1672.
He marries
and lives in
Hertfordshire.

In the Seventh month this year, (1672) he visited his friends in *Kent*, *Suffex* and *Surry*; of which his memorandums furnish us with an observation of that singular industry, which the free ministers of the gospel exercise, in the discharge of their office; for, in the space of twenty-one days, he with his companion, under the like concern, were present at, and preached to, as many assemblies of people, at distant places, viz. *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Dover*, *Deal*, *Folkstone*, *Ashford*, and other places in *Kent*; at *Lewes*, *Horſham*, *Stenning*, &c. in *Suffex*; and at *Charlewood* and *Rygate* in *Surry*. "Great was their service, in these counties; (says the writer of his life) their testimonies, effectual to the strengthening of their friends, silencing of gain-sayers, and to a general edification, were received by the people with joy, and openness of heart; and themselves in the performance of their duty, filled with spiritual consolation." *W. Penn* gives this account of their last meeting, in that journey, being at *Rygate*: "The Lord sealed up our labours and travels according to the desire of my soul and spirit,

He visits his
friends in
Kent, *Suffex*
and
Surry.

1672.

rit, with his heavenly refreshments, and sweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and consoling our own hearts abundantly.”—He concludes his narrative with these words:—“ And thus hath the Lord been with us, in all our travels for his truth; and with his blessings of peace are we returned; which is a reward beyond all worldly treasure.”

He writes
on divers
subjects,
&c.

About this time many opposers of the *Quakers*, some of whom being dissenters themselves, who had enough to do in time of persecution, by a *cautious privacy*, which they called *christian prudence*, to secure their heads from the storm, began, under the sun-shine of the king’s indulgence, to peep out, and (in the words of the writer of *W. Penn’s life*) by gainfaying the truth, to make its defence necessary; so that he had plenty of controversial exercise for his pen, the remainder of this year, and the two next ensuing; which produced several valuable treatises, extant in his works, together with divers remarkable and excellent letters and epistles, written both to single persons, collective bodies of men, and others, in a more general capacity, in *England, Holland, Germany* and elsewhere; which, as they are principally of a religious, and some of them of a political nature, may likewise be seen in his printed writings. Among these appears the following letter to a *Roman catholic*, viz.

“ *My Friend,*”

A letter to
a Roman
catholic.
1675.

“ Christ Jesus did redeem a people with his most precious blood, and the ancient church of *Rome*, among other churches, was one; but as the sea loses and gets, and as prosperity changes its station, so the *chastity* of the church of *Rome* is lost; she having taken in principles and discipline, that are not of Christ, neither can be found in the holy scriptures.”

1675.

“ If thou wert to die, wouldest not thou leave a *plain will* to thy children? so have Christ and his apostles,

apostles, in the scriptures. Read and thou mayest behold the simplicity, purity, meekness, patience and self-denial of those Christians and churches. They are Christ's, that take up his cross to the glory and spirit of this world; which the church of *Rome* lives in. Behold the pride, luxury, cruelty, that have, for ages, been in that church, even the heads and chieftains thereof! It is a mistake to think *that* Christ's church, which has lost its heavenly qualifications, because it once *was*. What is become of *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, &c. both churches of Christ, and before *Rome*? Nor is it number, (the Devil has that;) nor antiquity, (for he has that;) but Christ-likeness, and conformity to *Jesus*; who hath divorced those, that have adulterated; and though he had left but two or three (though there were thousands) yet he would be in the midst of them: and they have been in the wilderness, people crying in sackcloth. The generality declined from *Christ's spirit*; and it was lost, and the teachings of it: And then came up *form*, without power, and a wrathful spirit, to propagate it; and this made up the great *whore*, that looked like the *Lamb's bride*, Christ's church, but was not; which God will judge. Remember that God was not without a church, though the natural church and priesthood of the *Jews* apostatized: so, in the case of the church of *Rome*."

"Now is the Lord raising up his old power, and giving his spirit, and moving upon the waters, (the people) that out of that state all may come, and know God in spirit, and Christ, his Son; whom he has sent into the people's hearts, a true light. And, my friend, build not upon fancies, nor the traditions of men, but *Christ* the sure foundation, as he appears to thee, in thy conscience; that thou mayest feel his power to redeem thee, up to himself, out of the earthly, sensual spirit, to know thy right eye plucked out, the true mortification;

mortification; and this brings thee to the church of the *first born*, that is more divine and noble, than an outward glittering church, that is inwardly polluted: For, know, as thou sowest, thou reapest, in the great day of account. So to God's spirit, in thy own conscience, do I recommend thee, that leads out of all evil, and quickens thee to God, as thou obeyest it, and makes thee a child of God, and an heir of Glory. I am in much haste, and as much love,

“ *Thy true friend*

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ London, ninth October, 1675.”

1676. In the year 1676, he became one of the principal persons, concerned in settling *West New Jersey* in *America*; as hereafter will appear, in the second part of this introduction, in the account of the first settling and government of that colony. About this time also he writ to some persons of great quality, in *Germany*, as appears in his works; encouraging them to a perseverance in the paths of virtue and true religion; with the love of which he had understood their minds were happily and divinely inspired,

1677. In the year 1677, he travelled into *Holland* and *Germany*, in company with several of his friends, the *Quakers*, on a religious visit, to these countries; of which there is extant, in his works, an account, or journal, written by himself; in a plain, familiar style, and particularly suited to persons of a religious turn of mind. It does not appear to have been originally intended to be published; for, in the preface, to its first publication, the author himself says,—“ It was written for my own, and some relations, and particular friends satisfaction, as the long time it hath lain silent doth shew, but a copy, that was found among the late countess of *Conway's* papers, falling into the hands of a person, that much frequented that family, he was earnest with me,

me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it, for a common good," &c. In this account are included divers letters, epistles and religious pieces, written during his travels there, to persons of eminence and others, whom he either visited in person, or writing, or both:—It is continued from the twenty-second of the Fifth month, 1677, when he left home, to the first of the Ninth month the same year, when he arrived well at *Worminghurst*, his habitation, in *Suffex*.

In this journal mention is made of his having religious meetings, or paying personal visits, at *Rotterdam*, *Leyden*, *Haerlam* and *Amsterdam*; in which last place he made some stay, being employed there in assisting to regulate and settle the affairs of his religious society in that city, &c. from thence he writ to the king of *Poland*, in favour of his persecuted and suffering friends, the *Quakers*, at *Dantzick*. He was also at *Naerden*, *Osnaburgh* and *Herwerden*; in the last of which places he had religious meetings and agreeable conversation with the princess *Elizabeth Palatine* and others. He ^{1677.} visited *Paderborn*, *Cassel* and *Frankfort*; here he made some stay, and writ an epistle, "*To the churches of Jesus throughout the world*," &c. From hence he went by the way of *Worms* to *Crisheim*; where he found a meeting of his friends, the *Quakers*; and writ to the princess, before mentioned, and the countess of *Hornes*, two Protestant ladies of great virtue and quality, at *Herwerden*. Thence by *Frankenthal* to *Manheim*; from which place he wrote to the prince elector *Palatine* of *Heydelburgh*. He was likewise at *Mentz*, and divers other places, on the *Rhine*; as *Cullen*, *Duysburgh*, &c. But, on account of his being a *Quaker*, he was prohibited to enter into *Mulheim*, by the *Graef*, or earl of *Bruch* *Falkensteyn*, lord of that country; on which occasion he wrote to him from *Duysburgh*, a sharp letter of reproof and advice; and to his daughter, the

Names of
some places
which he
visited, &c.

the countess, a virtuous and religious lady, at *Mulheim*, on whose account his visit there was principally intended, he sent a consolatory epistle.

He then visited *Wesel*, *Rees*, *Emrick*, *Cleve*, *Nim-meguen*, *Lippenhusen*, *Groningen*, *Embsen*, *Bemen* and the *Hagüe*; and divers of these places, several times, frequently writing letters of advice and religious comfort to divers virtuous and religious persons of great quality, and others; with several of whom he corresponded; and at the last mentioned place he corrected and finished several long epistles of a religious nature; which were written and intended for the press, both in his first and second journey, in *Germany*; which are now extant in his works. From the *Haguc* he went to *Delft*, *Wonderwick*, and so to the *Briel*; and from thence by the packet, to *Harwich*, and home, within the limits of the time above mentioned,

He solicits
the parlia-
ment, &c.

After his return from *Germany*, the people called *Quakers* being harrassed with severe prosecutions, in the *exchequer*, on penalties of twenty pounds per month, or two-thirds of their estates, by laws made against Papists, but unjustly turned upon them; *W. Penn*, soliciting the parliament for redress of those grievances, presented petitions, on the occasion, both to the lords and commons; where, upon being admitted to a hearing before a committee, on the twenty-second of the month, called March, 1678, he made the following speeches, *viz.*

1678.

His first speech to the committee.

“ If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope, that is in us, and that to every sober and private enquirer; certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare, with all readiness, when called to it by so great authority, what is *not* our hope, especially

1678.
W. P.'s first
speech to
committee
of parlia-
ment.

especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and that we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from *Papists*, without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings; for that must every man needs be, that suffers mutely, under another character than that, which truly and properly belongeth to him, and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak, at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse, that I have received, above any other of my profession; for, of a long time, I have not only been supposed a *Papist*, but a *seminary*, a *Jesuit*, an *emissary* of *Rome*, and in pay from the *Pope*, a man dedicating my endeavours to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet: Nay, some zealous for the Protestant religion, have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and to decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves, to prosecute us for a sort of concealed *Papists*; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the *wool-sacks*, and common *whipping-stock* of the kingdom; all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us, and that not for what *we are*, but for what *we are not*: It is hard, that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy, in punishment; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration."

"I would not be mistaken, I am far from thinking it fit that *Papists* should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping *Quakers* for *Papists*: No, for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath (I know not by what direction) lit heavy upon us, and we complain; yet we do not mean, that any

any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room; for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have *good will* to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand: and I humbly take leave to add, that those methods, against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the *reason* of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration."

"To conclude, I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that profession, in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them; but, first, to pay that regard, we owe to the enquiry of this *committee*; and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin, which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of *laws*, that we humbly conceive were never made against us."

His second speech to the committee.

W. P.'s.
second
speech to
the com-
mittee of
parliament.

"The candid hearing, our sufferings have received from the *committee*, and the fair and easy entertainment, that you have given us, oblige me to add what ever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe, I would tell you a *lie*; I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in; but, I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here that have known me formerly; I believe they will say, I never was *that man*; and it would be hard, if after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down, in my retirement, short of common truth."

"Excuse the length of my introduction, it is for this I make it. I was bred a *Protestant*, and that strictly too: I lost nothing by time or study; for
years,

years, reading, travel and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment: my alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd, or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and (till you know me better) I hope your charity will rather call it my unhappiness, than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that *Protestant* judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an *iota* of any one principle, maintained by those first *Protestants* and *reformers* of *Germany*, and our own *martyrs*, at home, against the *Pope*, and *See of Rome*.

“ On the contrary, I do, with great truth, assure you, that we are of the same negative faith, with the ancient *Protestant church*, and, upon occasion, shall be ready, by God’s assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief, as to the most fundamental *positive articles of her creed* too. And, therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, those doctrines of *Rome*, so zealously *protested* against, from whence the name *Protestants*; yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines, we do so deny. We chuse no suffering, for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people: we are sure we are a peaceable people; but, if we still suffer, let us not suffer as *Popish recusants*, but as *Protestant dissenters*.

1678.
W. P.’s second speech
to the committee of
parliament.

“ But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least, that hath been made against us, *viz. That we are enemies to government, in general,*

ral, and particularly disaffected to this we live under: I think it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, (and that I do with good conscience, in the sight of the Almighty God) first, that we believe *government* to be *God's ordinance*; and next, that this *present government* is established by the *providence of God*, and *law of the land*, and that it is our *christian duty* readily to obey it, in all *just laws*; and wherein we cannot comply, through *tenderness of conscience*, in all such cases, not to revile, or conspire against the government, but, with christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us; and wait their better information; who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it.

“ I shall conclude with this; that we are so far from esteeming it hard, or ill, that the house hath put us upon this discrimination, that, on the contrary, we value it as we ought to do, for an high favour, (and cannot chuse but see, and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein) that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have, not with more patience than injustice, suffered but too many years under; and I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds, for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you.”

Parliament
prorogued;
and the
Quakers
notrelied

The committee agreed to insert in a bill, then depending, a *proviso*, or *clause*, for relief, in the case complained of; and the same did pass the *House of Commons*: But before it had gone through the *House of Lords*, it was quashed by a sudden prorogation of the parliament.

1679.

He writes
divers trea-
sures, &c.

About this time, and the following year, the people's minds being hurried and disturbed with rumours of plots, apprehensions of a *French invasion*,

fion, and designs to subvert the *Protestant* religion, and introduce *Popery*, he writ and published several pieces by way of advice to his friends, the *Quakers*, in particular, and also for settling the minds of the people in general, and turning them to their real and best interest, both in a *religious* and *political* sense; among which was published, in the year 1679, that excellent treatise, entitled, "*An address to Protestants of all persuasions*," &c.— And in the year 1681, there being a fresh persecution against his friends, the *Quakers*, in the city of *Bristol, W. Penn* writ them the following epistle, (which is here inserted as a specimen of his writing on such occasions) for their *Christian* consolation and encouragement, directed,

"*To the friends of God in the city of Bristol,*" 1681.

"This sent to be read among them, when assembled to wait upon the Lord."

"*My beloved in the Lord,*"

"I do hereby send amongst you the dear and tender salutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in the fellowship of the lasting gospel of peace, that has many years been preached and believed amongst you, beseeching the God and Father of this glorious day of the Son of man, to increase and multiply his grace, mercy and peace among you; that you may be faithful, and abound in every good word and work, doing and suffering what is pleasing unto God; that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God; which it becomes you to be found daily doing; that so an entrance may be administered unto you abundantly into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that is an everlasting kingdom. My beloved brethren and sisters, be not cast down at the rage of evil men, whose anger works not the righteousness of God; and whose cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing strange, or unusual, is come to pass, it makes well for them, that eye the Lord in

To his persecuted friends in Bristol.

in and through these sufferings: there is food in affliction, and though the instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord: keep your ground in the *truth*, that was, and is the saints' victory. They that shrink go out of it; it is a shield to the righteous: feel it and see, I charge you by the presence of the Lord that you turn not aside the Lord's end towards you in this suffering, by consulting with flesh and blood in easing your adversaries; for that will load you. Keep out of base bargainings, or conniving a fleshly evasion of the *cross*. Our Captain would not leave us such an example: let them shrink that know not why they should stand; we know, in whom we have believed: he is mightier in the faithful, to suffer and endure to the end, than the world, to persecute: call to mind those blessed ancients, "That by faith overcame of old, that endured cruel mockings and scourgings, yea more over, bonds and imprisonments, that accepted no deliverance, (to deny their testimony) that they might obtain a better resurrection:"—They were stoned; they were tempted; they were sawn asunder; they were slain with the sword; but ye have not so resisted unto *blood*; and it sufficeth, I hope to you, that the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished; where it may be truly said, "It shall go well with the righteous, but very ill with the wicked." The Lord God, by his power, keep your hearts living to him; that it may be your delight to *wait* upon him, and receive the bounty of his love; that being fed with his daily bread and drinking of his cup of blessing, you may be raised above the fear and trouble of earthly things and grow strong in him, who is your crown of rejoicing; that, having answered his requireing, and walked faithfully before him, you may receive, in the end of your days, the welcome sentence of gladness. *Eterna*
riche.

1681.
W. Penn,
to his per-
secuted
friends in
Bristol.

riches are before you, an inheritance incorruptible: **p**ress after that glorious mark: let your minds be **s**et on things that are above, and when Christ, that **i**s the glory of his poor people, shall appear, they shall appear with him in glory; when all tears shall **b**e wiped away, and there shall be no more sorrow, **o**r fighting, but they, that overcome, shall stand as **M**ount Sion, that cannot be removed."

" So, my dear friends and brethren, endure, **t**hat you may be saved, and you shall reap, if you **f**aint not. What should we be troubled for? our **k**ingdom is not of *this world*, nor can be shaken **b**y the overturning here below. Let all give glory **t**o God on high, live peaceably on earth, and shew **g**ood will to all men; and our enemies will at last, **f**ee they do they know not what, and repent, and **g**lorify God, our heavenly Father. O! great is **G**od's work on earth. Be *universal* in your spirits, and keep out all straitness and narrowness: look to **G**od's great and glorious kingdom, and its pro-
sperity: our time is not our own, nor are we our own: God hath bought us with a price, not to serve ourselves, but to glorify him, both in body, soul and spirit; and, by bodily sufferings for the truth, he is glorified: look to the accomplishing of the will of God, in these things; that the measure of Christ's sufferings may be filled up in us, who bear about the "dying of the Lord Jesus;" else our suffering is in vain. Wherefore, as the flock of God, and family and house-hold of faith, walk with your loins girded, being sober, hoping to the end, for the grace and kindness, which shall be brought unto you, at the revelation of Jesus Christ, to whom you and your's are committed: his precious spirit minister unto you, and his own life be shed abroad plenteously among you, that you may be kept blameless to the end. I am your friend and brother in the fellowship of the suffering for *truth*, as it is in *Jesus*,

" WILLIAM PENN.

" *Worminghurst, the 24th. of the Twelfth month, 1681.*"



Having thus far pursued this abstracted account of the life of *W. Penn*, I shall, in the next place after having previously given a brief preliminary description of the first rise of the *British* colonies, in *America*, and more especially of *West New Jersey* in which he was so much concerned, attend him in the settlement and colonization of his province of *Pennsylvania*.



INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

PART THE SECOND.

CONTAINING,

Short preliminary sketch of the first colonization of continental America by the English;—Of the Dutch and Swedish settlements, pretensions and proceedings, on Hudson's or North river, and on the bay and river of Delaware;—But more particularly, of the rise, government, and early transactions of the colony of West New Jersey, previous to those of Pennsylvania.

THE first European discovery of some of the similar parts of *America*, in the year 1492, by *Christopher Columbus*, and the success of his subsequent voyages, as well as those of *Americus Vespucius*, between the years 1496 and 1499, to that continent, both in the service of *Spain*, are now so well known as here to need no repetition; and, for the same reason, it is unnecessary to specify, in this place, how, or why, this newly discovered part of the world was called *America*, from the name of the latter of these persons; whose last voyage, at the employment of *Portugal*, gave that part of *North America* now called *Brasil*, to that kingdom; the prior discoveries of *Columbus* and *himself* had added, besides the islands, immense tract of territory

1492.
Discovery
of America
by Colum-
bus, and by
Americus,
&c.

ritory to *Spain*, both in the northern and southern latitudes of continental *America*; according to the universally acknowledged *law of nations*, which assigns all waste and uncultivated countries to the prince, who is at the charge of the first discovery of them.*

1497.
British discoveries, by the Cabots, &c.

I shall only, therefore, in this place, previously mention, that, in the year 1497, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, father and son, in the service of king *Henry the seventh of England*, by the best accounts are generally acknowledged to have been the first *Europeans*, who discovered that part of north *America*, where the *English* colonies were afterward settled, along the *Atlantic* shore, including *Newfoundland*, from 60, or 68 degrees north, to so far south, as the isle of *Cuba*, or the latitude of *Florida*.†

Al

* See Justinian, Grotius, &c. on this subject.

Columbus is said to be buried in the cathedral of Seville, in *Spain*, with this inscription on his tomb.

"Columbus has given a new world

To the kingdoms of Castile and Leon."

Herrera, the great Spanish historian of *America*, expressly affirms "That neither on the continent, nor isles of the *West Indies* (the name the *Spaniards* usually give to all *America*) were there either silk, wine, sugar, olives, wheat, barley or pulse; all which (adds *Herrera*) and many other things have been transported thither from *Spain*." Their own sole original productions were tobacco, indigo, cocheneal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, piemento, sundry useful drugs and woods for dying, furniture, physic," &c.

ANDERSON'S historical deduction of commerce, &c.

† "The main end of the above attempt of the *Cabots*, from *England* was said by the writers of, or near, these times, to have been to discover a north-west passage to the *Indies*, or spice islands, or, to *Catbaia*; as they then termed a country, since known to be *Cbina*; whither some travellers had gone over by land, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Cabot* having sailed so far north as 67½ degrees, the land which he first saw, was the country between the mouth of the river of *Canada* and *Hudson's* strait; and which he, therefore, named *Prima vista*; (i. e. first discovered) which name it soon lost; and next got the name of *Carteret's* Is., from a *Portuguese*; who, from *Lisbon*, fell in with that coast, anno 1500, calling also the north part of it *Esotiland*. After the *French* had settled in *Canada*, they freely called the country *New France*. Lastly, the *English* discoveries, on the north parts of that country, deep into the bay of *Hudson*, called it *New Britain*; though the *Portuguese*, in some of their maps, called it *Terra di Labrador*: its only produce hitherto being peltry, furs and feathers."

ANDERSON, &c.

All this extent of territory, or, least, from 34 ^{The ancient} to 45 degrees of north latitude, including all that ^{Virginia} tract of land, which is situated between the extreme bounds of *New England* and *Carolina*, north and south, was, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, named *Virginia*; which was then deemed to comprehend all the habitable part of the British continental territories in *America*. Which name is said to have been given it, either by the queen herself, or by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; who, in the year 1584; ^{1584.} obtained a patent from the queen, for making a settlement in *America*. This was accordingly attempted, at different times; though at first unsuccessfully, in that part of the continent, which still retains the name of *Virginia*.*

In the year 1606, the whole extent of this territory was divided into two parts, or colonies, by ^{1606.} a charter obtained of king *James*, for two compa- ^{Virginia divided into} nies. The first was called the *South Virginia* com- ^{two colo-} pany, comprehending the now named provinces of *Maryland*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*; or all the country ^{nies.} which is situated between 34 and 41 degrees of N. latitude, which includes part of *Pennsylvania*. These

* "In the year 1584, Sir *Walter Raleigh* formed his scheme with a number of gentlemen and merchants, for making a settlement in *America*; for which purpose queen *Elizabeth*, on lady day, this year, grants him, &c. a charter for the possessing of such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by *Christians*, as they should discover in six years; of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reserving to the crown the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore found therein, with power to seize, to their proper use, all ships, with their merchandize, that shall without leave, plant within two hundred miles of this intended settlement; excepting however, the queen's subjects and allies, fishing at *Newfoundland*," &c. "Grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there."—"Powers are also granted to the patentees, for making *Bye-laws* there, not repugnant to those of *England*."—*Amidas* and *Barlow*, with two vessels, were accordingly sent the same year.—They arrived at a part of what is now called *Virginia*; which name, either the queen herself, or Sir *Walter Raleigh*, gave that country; where making some insignificant trade with the natives, they returned home."

"N. B. In this, and some other patents of those times, there was no distinct place, longitude nor latitude, fixed or limited, for such plantation, although, undoubtedly, *North America* was the country intended."

Anderson, &c.

These were called the *London adventurers*. The second company were called the *Plymouth adventurers*; who were empowered to plant and inhabit so far as to 45 degrees of N. latitude, in which compass was included what is now called *Pennsylvania*, in part, *New Jersey*, *New York* and *New England*.

Planting of
Virginia.

The first, or *London company*, which most properly ought to be called the *Virginia company*, did, in this same year 1606, or the next following, effect a settlement near the mouth of *Powhatan*, now called *James's river*, within *Chesapeake bay*, which they named *James town*; which name it still retains. This is said to have been the first *English* colony, on the continent of *America*, which took root, and has continued permanent to our days; all former attempts having proved abortive.

1620.
Planting of
N. England
&c.

From this time, till the year 1620, the planting of *New-England*, or the northern division, appears not to have been successfully undertaken; though there had been several voyages made during this interval, but mostly in a trading way, to that part of the continent.* But in the year 1620, the first permanent plantation, or, which remains such to this time, appears to have been made in that country; to which king *Charles* the first, then prince of *Wales*, is said to have given the name of *New-England*:† “For which purpose (says governor *Hutchinson*, in his history of *Massachusetts bay*) a new patent was granted, bearing date, November third 1620, incorporating the adventurers to the

* “It is evident, from the charter, that the original design of it was to constitute a corporation in *England*, like that of the *East Indies*, and other great companies, with powers to settle plantations within the limits of the territory; under such forms of government and magistracy as should be fit and necessary.”

Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts Bay.

† “Captain John Smith, having surveyed the inland country, and presented a map of it to *Charles*, prince of *Wales*, the prince gave the country the name of *New England*.”

Anderson, &c.

the northern colony, by the name of *The Council for the affairs of New-England*; the bounds of the country were expressed between forty and forty-eight degrees north."

In the year 1623, there were so many complaints made of bad management, that, on enquiry, a *Quo warranto* was issued against the *Virginia* charters, including both North and South *Virginia*; and it is said, after a trial in the *King's Bench*, they were declared forfeited.*

* "In volume seventeenth of *Rymer's Fœdera*, page 608, we have a more distinct view of the condition of the colony of *Virginia*; in a commission from King *James*, to many lords and gentlemen, as follows, viz.—" *WE*, having by letters patent of the fourth year of our reign, granted powers to divers knights, gentlemen and others, for the more speedy accomplishment of the plantation of *Virginia*, that they should divide themselves into two colonies; the one to consist of *Londoners*, called the *First Colony*; and the other, of those of *Bristol*, *Exeter* and *Plymouth*, called the *Second Colony*. And we did, by several letters under our privy seal, prescribe orders and constitutions, for directing the affairs of said colony.

"And whereas, afterwards, upon the petition of divers adventurers and planters of the said *First (or London) colony*, *WE*, by letters patent in the seventh year of our reign, (*anno* 1610) incorporated divers noblemen, knights, &c. by the name of *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London, for the first Colony of Virginia*, granting them divers lands, territories, &c. to be conveyed by them to the adventurers and planters; with power to have a council there resident, for the affairs of the colony; and also to place and displace officers.

"And afterwards, in the tenth year of our reign, (1613) by letters patent, did further mention to give that Company divers *Isles*, on that coast."

"And whereas, *WE*, finding the courses taken, for the settling of the said colony, have not taken the good effect, we intended, did, by a late commission to sundry persons of quality and trust, cause the state of the said colony to be examined into; who, after much pains taken, reported, that most of our people sent thither, had died by sickness and famine, and by *massacres* by the natives; and that such as are still living, were in a lamentable necessity and want; though they (the Commissioners) conceived the country to be both fruitful and healthful; and that, if industry were used, it would produce many good staple commodities."

"But by neglect of the Governors and Managers here, it had, as yet, produced few, or none"—"That the said plantations are of great importance; and would, as they hoped, remain a lasting monument of our most gracious and happy government to all posterity, if the same were prosecuted to those ends, for which they were first undertaken."

"Whereupon, *WE*, entering into mature consideration of the premises, did, by advice of our Privy Council, resolve to alter the charter of the said Company, as to points of government:—but the said Treasurer and Company not submitting thereto, *The said charters are now avoided by a Quo Warranto*. Wherefore, *WE* direct you to consider the state of the said colony, and what points are fitting to be inserted in the intended new charter,

1625.
The present
form of go-
vernment
settled in
Virginia.

“ And about the year 1625,”—(says *Anderfon* in his historical deduction of commerce, &c.)—“ King *Charles* the first issued the following proclamation, which first laudably established the prudent form of government, in which this, (i. e. *Sou Virginia*; or what is now called *Virginia*,) and the other regal colonies, have remained to this day (1761) viz.—That, whereas, in his royal father’s time, the charter of the *Virginia Company* was by a *Quo warranto* annulled; and whereas, his father was, and he himself also is of opinion, that the government of that colony by a company incorporated, consisting of a multitude of persons of various dispositions, among whom affairs of the greatest moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not so proper for carrying on prosperously the affairs of the colony: wherefore, to reduce the government thereof to such a course, as might be agree with that form, which was held in his royal monarchy; and considering also that we hold the territories of *Virginia*, and the *Somer Isles*, as a part of that of *New England*, (lately planted) within the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire: *We ordain*, that the government of the colony *Virginia* shall immediately depend on *ourselves*, and not to be committed to any company or corporation to whom it may be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fit to commit the ordering of state affairs.” Wherefore our commissioners for those affairs shall proceed as directed till we establish a council here, for that colony; be subordinate to our Privy Council.”—“ And that we will also establish another council, to reside in *Virginia*, who shall be subordinate to our council here, for that colony. And, at our charter

charter, and to report to Us.”—“ And in the meantime to take to supply the Planters there with necessaries, and to do all other needful for maintaining the colony.”

“ Moreover the King (*Ibidem* page 618) appoints Sir *Francis W* Governor of the colony, with eleven Counsellors, residing in the colony
Anderfon, &c. vol. 2. page

charge we will maintain those public officers and ministers, and that strength of men, munition, and fortification, which shall be necessary for the defence of that plantation."

After the dissolution of the *Virginia* charters, the British continental territories, in *America*, that had before gone under the name of *Virginia*, being under the immediate direction of the crown, and at liberty to be granted to whom the crown thought proper, particular patents, in consequence thereof, for such parts as remained unplanted, were accordingly granted at various times, and on different occasions. And in the year 1628, on the fourth of March, the settlers on *Massachusetts* bay obtained their first royal charter, for the government of that colony; *Matthew Cradock* being appointed the first Governor, and *Thomas Goffe*, deputy Governor; the patent, from the council of *Plymouth* having given them a right to the soil only, but no powers of government.

And in
New-England.

Hutchinson's history
of Massachusetts bay

In the year 1609, the *Dutch East India* company, according to their own writers, employed *Henry Hudson*, an *Englishman*, to attempt the discovery of a north west passage to *China*; in this voyage he discovered *Delaware bay*;* and also failed to the place, where *New York* now stands, and up *North river*, called by him *Hudson's river*, so far north, as latitude 43 degrees.† In consequence of which

1609.
Dutch discovery, or
claim, &c.
of New-York, &c.

* "Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *Delaware*, made Captain General of *Virginia*, in 1609, in his second voyage to that colony, in the year 1618, died at sea; and I think, (says *Stiib*, in his history of *Virginia*,) I have somewhere seen, that he died about the mouth of *Delaware bay*, which thence took its name from him."

Stiib's history of Virginia.

But I find, in an old Swedish manuscript, it was called *Poutaxat* by the Indians.

† "Henry Hudson, an *Englishman*, according to our authors, in the year 1608, under a commission from the king, his master, discovered *Long Island*, *New-York*, and the river that still bears his name; and afterwards sold the country, or rather his right, to the *Dutch*."

Smith's history of New-York.

which, the *Dutch*, having purchased of him, as they say, his chart of discoveries, on the coast obtained a patent from the states, in the year 1614, for an exclusive trade, on the said river; and made a settlement, in the province, now called *New York*, to which they gave the name of *New Netherland*, claiming within the same the country on *Delaware*.*—On the island, called *Manhattans*, at the mouth of the said river they erected a fort; where they afterwards, in the year 1656, laid out and began their town of *New-Amsterdam*, now *New York*.

1623. In the year 1623, they erected several forts in different parts of the new territory, to which they had thus made claim; among which they built one on *Delaware*, (by them called *South river*) near *Gloucester*, in *New-Jersey*. But the commodious situation of *New-York*, for the sea and trade, induced most of them, who were settled on the *Delaware*, soon afterwards to quit it, and fix their settlements on both sides of *North river*, before any of the *Swedes* came into *America*.

In

* "The extent of *New-Netherland*, (says *Smith*, in his history of *New-York*,) was to *Delaware*, then called *South river*, and beyond it; For I find in the Dutch records, a copy of a letter from *William Kieft*, then Governor, at *New-Amsterdam*, May sixth, 1638, directed to *Peter Minuit*, who seems, by the tenor of it, to be the *Swedish* Governor of *New-Sweden*, "Asserting that the whole south river of *New-Netherland* had been in the *Dutch* possession many years, above and below, beset with forts, and sealed with their blood."—"Which (*Kieft* adds) has happened, even, during your administration, in *New-Netherland*, and is well known to you."

"In the year 1642, *Kieft* fitted out two Sloops to drive the *English* out of *Schuykill*, of which the *Marylanders* had lately possessed themselves. The instructions, dated, May twenty-second, to *Jan Jansz Alpendam*, who commanded in that enterprise, are upon record, and strongly assert the right of the *Dutch* both to the soil and trade there.'

Smith's history of New-York

The *Dutch* are reported, about the year 1623, to have furnished the *Indians* with *Fire-arms*, and to have taught them the use thereof, that by their assistance, they might expel the *English*, when they began to settle around them.

Smith's history of New-Jersey, and others

In the year 1626, under the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, a scheme was set on foot in that kingdom, for settling a colony in *America*; This was chiefly promoted by the great commendation which *William Ufeling*, an eminent merchant, gave of this country; and the undertaking was, in the following year, 1627, principally through his means and persuasion, put in execution.

1627.
The Swedes
settlement
and claim
on the De-
laware, &c.

The first landing of the *Swedes* and *Fins*, this year, was at cape *Inlopen*, the interior cape of *Delaware*;^{*} which, from its pleasant appearance to them,

^{*} This cape is frequently confounded with cape *Hinlopen*, the exterior, or the *Falso-cape*, in *Fenwick's* island, being written in the same manner, and sometimes, *Henlopen*;—said to be a Swedish word, signifying, *Entering in*:—It was also formerly, sometimes called cape *Cornelius*, and afterwards by *William Penn*, cape *James*.—It is situated in north latitude 38 degrees, 56 minutes.

In the notes to *Smith's* history of *New-Jersey*, is inserted an extract from a pamphlet, said there to have been published in 1648, entitled, "*A description of the province of New-Albion,—in North America*," &c. [which country, extending from the west bank of *North-river* to the bounds of *Virginia*, is said to have been granted by king *James* the first to sir *Edward Ploeyden*, made earl *Palatine* of the same,] giving, among other things, an account of the country, on the bay and river of *Delaware*; and though part of it, at this time, appears not very intelligible, yet, as it is somewhat curious, and exhibits what notion, or knowledge, of this country, was then propagated, the following extract therefrom, may probably be entertaining to some.

The author, giving an account of the discoveries of *Cabot*, further says,

"The said *Cabot* took possession in latitude 37 degrees, of that part called *Virginia* and *Chesapeake* bay,—and of the next great bay, in, or near 39 degrees, called now by the *Dutch*, cape *Henlopen*, the *South-river*, and by us cape *James*, and *Delaware* bay, of the baron of *Delaware's* name, being then governor of *Virginia*; who, by sir *Thomas Dale*, and sir *Samuel Argoll*, forty years since, took possession and attainment of the *Indian* kings; and sixty years since, sir *Walter Raleigh* seated and left thirty men, and four pieces of ordnance; and the creek, near cape *James*, by the *Dutch* called *Horekill*, by us *Roymount*, and by the *Indians*, *Qui Achomocai*;"—(speaking of the *Dutch*, in *New-Netherland*, he says,)—"and in general they endanger all hismajesties adjoining countries, most wickedly, feloniously, and traiterously, contrary to the marine and admiral laws of all christians, sell, by wholesale, guns, powder, shot and ammunition to the *Indians*, instructing them in the use of our fights and arms;—likewise, the *Swedes* hiring out three of their soldiers to the *Susquehannocks*, have taught them the use of our arms and fights."

"Whereas, that part of *America*, or *North-Virginia*, lying about 39 degrees, on *Delaware* bay, called *The province of New-Albion*, is situated in the best, and same temper as *Italy*: between too cold *Germany*,

them, they named *Paradise-point*. They are said to have purchased of some *Indians*, the land from cape *Inlopen*, to the falls of *Delaware*, on both sides of the river; which they called *New-Swede-land stream*; and made presents to the *Indian* chiefs, to obtain peaceable possession of the land so purchased:

and too hot *Barbary*: so this lying just midway between *New-England*, two hundred miles north; and *Virginia*, one hundred and fifty miles south; where now are settled eight thousand *English*, and one hundred and forty ships in trade, is freed from the extreme cold and barrenness of the one, and heat and aguish marshes of the other; and is like *Lombardy*; and a rich, fat soil, plain, and having thirty-four rivers, on the main land; seventeen great isles; and partaketh of the healthiest air, and most excellent commodities of *Europe*, and replenished with the goodliest woods of oak, and all timber for ships and masts, mulberries, sweet cypress, cedars, pines and firs; four sorts of grapes, for wine and raisins and with the greatest variety of choice fruits, fish and fowl; stored with all sorts of corn, yielding five, seven and ten quarters an acre: silk grass salt, good mines, and dyers ware; five sorts of deer, buffs, and huge elks to plow and work, all bringing three young at once. The uplands covered many months with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, beech and oak-mast, to feed them; hogs and turkeys, five hundred in a flock; and having, near the colony of *Mantfes*, four hundred thousand acres of plain mead land, and mere level, to be flowed and flooded by that river, for corn, rice, grapes, flax and hemp. After seventeen years trading, and discovering there, and trial made, is begun to be planted and stored by the governor and company of *New-Albion*, consisting of forty-four lords, baronets, knights and merchants; who, for the true informing of themselves, their friends, adventurers and partners, by residents and traders there four several years, out of their journal books, namely captain *Browne*, a ship master, and master *Stafford*, his mate, and by captain *Claybourn*, fourteen years there trading, and *Constantine* his *Indian*, there born and bred, and by master *Robert Evelin*, four years there, yet by eight of their hands subscribed and enrolled, do testify this to be the true state of the country of the land and *Delaware* bay, or *Charles's* river; which is further witnessed by captain *Smith*, and other books of *Virginia*, and by *New-England* prospect, *New-Canaan*, captain *Powell's* map, and other descriptions of *New-England* and *Virginia*."

" Master *Evelin's* letter.

" Good *Madam*,

" Sir *Edmund*, our noble governor and lord, earl *Palatine*, persisting still in his noble purpose, to go on with his plantation, on *Delaware* or *Charles's* river, just midway between *New-England* and *Virginia*, where, with my uncle *Young*, I several years resided, hath often informed himself, both of me and master *Siratton*, as I perceive by the hands subscribed, of *Edward Monmouth*, *Teniz Palee*, and as master *Buckham*, master *White*, and other ship masters and sailors, whose hands I know, and it to be true, that there lived and traded with me, and is sufficiently instructed of the state of the country and people there. And I should very gladly, according to his desire, have waited upon you into *Hampshire*, to have informed your honor, in person, had I not, next week, been passing to *Virginia*. But nevertheless, to satisfy you of the truth,

enacted:—with whom they appear to have lived in much amity; but they were frequently disturbed by the *Dutch*; who, in the year 1630, built a fort within the capes of *Delaware*, at the place now called *Lewis-town*, but then, and sometime since, *Hoerkill*;

1630.

truth, I thought good to write unto you my knowledge, and first, to describe to you, from the north side of *Delaware*, unto *Hudson's* river; in sir *Edmund's* patent, called *New-Albion*; which lyeth just between *New-England* and *Maryland*, and that ocean-sea; I take it to be about one hundred and sixty miles; I find some broken land, isles and inlets, and many small isles at *Egg-bay*. But, going to *Delaware-bay*, by cape *May*; which is twenty-four miles, at most, and is, as I understand, very well set out, and printed in captain *Powell's* map of *New-England*, done, as is told me, by a draught I gave to *M. Daniel*, the plot maker; which, sir *Edmund* saith, you have at home;—on that north side, about five miles within, a port, or road, for any ships, called the *Nook*; and within lyeth the king of *Kachemechee*, having, as I suppose, about fifty men; and twelve leagues higher, a little above the bay and bar, is the river of *Mantfes*, which hath twenty miles on *Charles's* river, and thirty miles running up a fair navigable, deep river, all a flat level of rich and fat black marish mould; which I think to be three hundred thousand acres. In this sir *Edmund* intends, as he saith, to settle; and there the king of *Mantfes* hath about one hundred bowmen. Next above, about six leagues higher, is a fair deep river, twelve miles navigable; where is *Free-stone*, and there, over which I think it, is the king of *Sikonefse*; and next is *Asomoches* river and king, with an hundred men; and next is *Eriwoneck*, a king of forty men; where we sat down; and five miles above is the king of *Ramcock*, with one hundred men; and four miles higher the king of *Axion*, with two hundred men; and next to him, ten leagues over land, an inland king *Calufar*, with one hundred and fifty men; and then there is, in the middle of *Charles's* river, two fair woody islands, very pleasant and fit for park, one of one thousand acres, the other of one thousand four hundred, or thereabouts; and six leagues higher, near a creek, called *Mofflian*, the king having two hundred men; and then we come to the *Falls*, made by a rock of limestone; as I suppose, it is about sixty-five leagues from the sea;—near to which is an isle, fit for a city; all materials there to build; and above, the river fair and navigable, as the *Indians* inform me; for I went but ten miles higher. I do account all the *Indians* to be about eight hundred; and are in several factions and war against the *Susquabannock*; and are all extreme fearful of a gun, naked and unarmed against our shot, swords and pikes. I had some bickering with some of them; and they are of so little esteem, as I durst, with fifteen men, sit down, or trade in despite of them; and since my return eighteen *Swedes* are settled there; and so sometimes sixteen *Dutchmen* do, in a boat, trade with our fear of them."

"I saw there an infinite quantity of bustards, swans, geese and fowl, covering the shores; as within, the like multitude of pigeons, and store of turkeys; of which I tried one to weigh forty-six pounds. There is much variety and plenty of delicate fresh sea fish, and shell fish, and whales or grampus; elks, deer that bring three young at a time, and the woods belted many months with chestnuts, walnuts and mast of several sorts, to feed them and hogs, that would increase exceedingly. There the barren grounds have four kinds of grapes, and many mulberries,

The Swedes and Dutch unite against the English, &c. *Hoerkill*;—But both they and the Dutch appear to have agreed so far together, as to unite in expelling such *English*, as about this time, began to settle near, or on the east side of *Delaware*, and to prevent them from coming among them.

In

ries, with ash, elms, and the tallest and greatest pines and pitch trees, that I have seen. There are cedars, cypress and sassafras, with wild fruits, pears, wild-cherries, pine-apples, and the dainty *Parfemenas*; and there is no question but *Almonds*, and other fruits of *Spain*, will prosper, as in *Virginia*. And (which is a good comfort) in four and twenty hours, you may send, or go by sea, to *New-England*, or *Virginia*, with a fair wind; you may have cattle, and from the *Indians* two thousand bushels of corn, at twelve pence a bushel, in truck; so as victuals are there cheaper and better than to be transported; neither do I conceive any great need of a fort, or charge, where there is no enemy."

"If my lord *Palatine* will bring with him three hundred men, or more, there is no doubt, but he may do very well, and grow rich; for it is a most pure healthful air, and such pure wholesome springs, rivers and waters, as are delightful of a desert, as can be seen; with so many varieties of several flowers, trees and forests, for swine; so many fair rising and prospects, all green and verdant: and *Maryland*, a good friend and neighbour, in four and twenty hours, ready to comfort and supply."

"And truly, I believe, my lord of *Baltimore* will be glad of my lord *Palatine's* plantation and assistance, against any enemy, or bad neighbour: and if my lord *Palatine* employ some men to sow flax, hemp and rapes in these rich marshes, or build ships, and make pipe staves, or load some ships with these wares, or fish, from the northward, he may have any money, ware, or company, brought him, by his own ship or the ships of *Virginia*, or *New-England*, all the year."

"And because your honour is of the noble house of the *Parakets*, as I am informed, desire to lead many of your friends and kindred tother, whom, as I honour, I desire to serve, I shall entreat you to believe me, as a gentleman and christian, I write to you nothing but the true and hope there to take opportunity, in due season to visit you, and all the good offices, in *Virginia*, my place and friends can serve you. And thus tendering my service, I rest, madam, your honours most humble, faithful servant,

"Robert Evelyn

"Now since master *Elmes's* letter, and seven years discoveries of lord governor in person, and by honest traders with the *Indians*, we sit beside the *Indian* kings, by him known and printed, in this province there are, in all twenty-three *Indian* kings, or chief commanders, besides the number of eight hundred by him named, there are, at least one thousand two hundred, under the *Raritan* kings, on the north side next to *Hudson's* river; and those come down to the ocean, about *Little Egg-bay*, and *Sandy Barnegate*, and about the south cape, two small bands of forty men a piece, called *Tirants*, or *Tiafcons*; and a third reduced fourteen men, at *Roymount*: The *Susquabannocks* are not now, of the naturals, left above one hundred and ten, though with their forced auxiliaries, the *Ibbon-a-Does*, and *Wycomefes*, they can make two hundred and fifty;—These together are counted valiant and terrible to other cowardly *Indians*; which they beat with the sight of guns only."

" 7

In 1631, the Swedes erected a fort on the west side of *Delaware*, at a place near *Wilmington*, upon the river, or creek, which still, from the name of the fort, is called *Christina*, or *Christeen*, where they had laid out a town, and made their first settlement.

1631.
The Swedes
erect a fort
at Christeen
&c.

On

"The eighth seat is *Kildorpy*, near the falls of *Charles* river, near two hundred miles up from the ocean; it hath clear fields to plant and sow; and near it are sweet, large meads of *Clover*, or *Honey-suckle*, nowhere else in *America*, to be seen, unless transported from *Europe*; a ship of one hundred and forty tons may come up to these falls; which is the best seat for health, and a trading house to be built on the rocks; and ten leagues higher are *Lead-mines*, in stony hills."

"The ninth is called mount *Ployden*, the seat of the *Raritan* kings, on the north side of this province, twenty miles from *Sand-bay* sea, and ninety from the ocean, next to *Amara-hill*, the retired *Paradise* of the children of the *Ethiopian* emperor, a wonder; for it is a square rock, two miles compass, one hundred and fifty feet high, a wall-like precipice, a strait entrance, easily made invincible; where he keeps two hundred for his guard; and under it is a flat valley, all plain, to plant and sow."

"The *Susquehannock*'s new town is also a rare, healthy and rich place, with it a chrystal broad river; but some falls below hinder navigation; and the *Hook-hill*, on the ocean, with its clear fields, near *Hudson*'s river, on the south side is much commended for health and fish, were it not so northerly."

"The bounds are one thousand miles compass, of this most temperate rich province; for our south bound, is *Marylands* north bound;—and beginning at *Aquats*, or the southermost, or first cape of *Delaware* bay, in 38 degrees, 40 minutes, and so runneth by, or through, or including *Kent* isle, through *Chesapeake* bay, to *Piscataway*, including the falls of *Potomack* river, to the head, or northermost branch of that river, being three hundred miles due west; and thence northward to the head of *Hudson*'s river, fifty leagues; and so down *Hudson*'s river, to the ocean, sixty leagues, and thence to the ocean and isles across *Delaware* bay, to the south cape, fifty leagues; in all seven hundred and eighty miles. Then all *Hudson*'s river, isles, *Long-isle*, or *Pamunke*, and all isles within ten leagues of the said province being. And note, *Long-island* alone is twenty miles broad, and one hundred and eighty long; so that alone is four hundred miles compass. Now I have examined all former patents, some being surrendered, and some adjudged void, as gotten on false suggestions; as, that at the council table was, at master *Gonges* suit of *Mantabustets*; and, as captain *Clayborn*, heretofore secretary, and now treasurer, of *Virginia*, in dispute with master *Leonard Calvert*, alledgeth; that of *Maryland* is likewise void, in part, as gotten on false suggestions; for, as captain *Clayborn* sheweth, the *Maryland* patent, in the first part, declareth the king's intention to be, to grant a land, thereafter descibed, altogether dishabited and unplanted, though possessed with *Indians*. Now *Kent-isle* was with many households of *English* by captain *C. Clayborn* before seated; and because his majesty, by his privy signet, shortly after declared, it was not his intention to grant any lands before seated and habited: and for that it lyeth, by the *Maryland* printed card, clean northward, within *Albion*, and not in *Maryland*: and not only late seaman, but old Depo-

sitious

1631, &c.
Swedish
improve-
ments.

On the island *Tenecum*, in the river *I* sixteen miles above this town, they bui which they called *New Gottemburgh*; h Governor, *John Printz*, had a fine se which was named *Printz's Hall*; and on island the principal settlers had their pl They had also other forts, as at *Chester*, *I* near Salem, &c.

1632.
The first
rise of the
colony of
Maryland.

On the twentieth of June 1632, the yc *Baltimore*, *Cæcilius Calvert*, obtained fr *Charles*, a grant of the unoccupied part of from *Potowmack* river northward, includ both on the east and west side of *Chefe* which his father, *Sir George Calvert*, Se state, had before received a promise, but fore the grant was made out; the king named it *Maryland*, in honor of his que *rietta Maria*.

1632.
Situation
and bounds
of Mary-
land.

This province is situated between 37 a grees of north latitude, and according to t of the patent,—'Tis all that part of a I lying between the *ocean* on the east, and t *Chesapeak*, on the west, and divided from part, by a right line, drawn from the ca *Watkins's point*, situated in the aforesaid i the river *Wighco*, on the west, unto the m

sitions, in *Claborn's* hand, shew it to be out of *Maryland*: *Albions* privy signet is elder, and before *Maryland* patent; force, entered and thrust out master *Calvert* out of *Kent*; n patent, coming to the ocean, saith, along by the ocean, u bay; that is, the first cape of the two, most plain in view, in all the late *English* and *Dutch* cards; and unto *Delarwa* into the bay, nor farther than the cape, heading the bay degrees, 40 minutes, or, at most, by seven observations 1 degrees 50 minutes; so as undoubtedly, that is the true ground bound and line, and further; for the words foll words of grant, but words of declaration, that is, *Which lyeth in 40 degrees, where New-England ends*; these are bot so being declarative, as a false suggestion, is void; for no ware bay lyeth in 40 degrees; now if there were but the these true bounds, I should wish, by consent, or commissio bulation and boundary; not but there is land enough for a *Kent-isle*, having lateiy but twenty men in it, and the mill led down, and in war with all the *Indians* near it, is keeping."

on the east; and between that bound, on the south, unto that part of *Delaware* bay, on the north, which lies under the fortieth degree of north latitude, &c. and all that tract of land, from the aforesaid bay of *Delaware*, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountain of the river *Potowmack*, and from thence tending towards the south, to the further bank of the aforesaid river, and following the west and south side of it, to a certain place called *Cinquack*, situated near the mouth of said river, where it falls into the bay of *Chesapeak*, and from thence by a straight line, to the aforesaid cape, called *Watkins's* point, &c."

These are the bounds of *Maryland*, as expressed in the patent;—concerning which afterwards there was so long a dispute between the Proprietaries of that province, and of *Pennsylvania*; arising principally from the different construction of the words, expressing the boundary between them, made by each party, and of the intention of the said grant: for, first, the extent of land, contained in the fortieth degree of latitude which was to be the north boundary of *Maryland*, by charter, was afterwards claimed by both provinces, as lying entirely within each of their respective grants; which made a very material difference.

Secondly, That part of the western shore of *Delaware*, which appears to come within the bounds of Lord *Baltimore's* grant, had, long before this time, been possessed and inhabited by both *Dutch* and *Swedes* successively; and was claimed by the former as a part of *New Netherland*, and was then actually in possession of the latter; whereas it appears manifest, both from the *Maryland* patent, and the best documents, that only such lands were intended to be granted to the Lord *Baltimore*, as were uncultivated, and uninhabited by any people except *Indians*.—But as this affair will be further mentioned in the following history of *Pennsylvania*, I shall only observe, in
this

1632.
On the
bounds be-
tween Ma-
ryland and
Pennsylva-
nia, &c.

this place, that, in consequence of this grant, the following year, the said Lord *Baltimore* (being a *Roman Catholic*) carried several hundred persons to his new colony, mostly *Papists*, that there they might enjoy quietly the exercise of their religion.*

1654, &c.
Of the
Swedes on
Delaware,
Smith's his-
tory of New
Jersey.

John Printz, continued Governor of the *Swedes*, on *Delaware*, from his arrival till about the year 1654, when he returned to *Sweden*, having first deputed his son-in-law, *John Papegoia*, Governor in his stead; who also, sometime after, returned to his native country, and left the government to *John Rivingh*.

It was during the administration of *Printz*, in 1651, that the *Dutch* built fort *Casimir*, now called *New Castle* on *Delaware*,† against which he solemnly

* "The year 1632 (says *Anderson*, before quoted) gave rise to the colony of *Maryland*, being a part of what was then reckoned *Virginia*. Sir *George Calvert*, secretary of state, (he, or his son, being afterwards created lord *Baltimore*) having, in the years 1621 and 1622, obtained of king *James*, a grant of part of *Newfoundland*, he, some time after, removed thither, with his family; but he soon found it to be one of the worst countries, in the habitable world. Whereupon he returned back to *England*, and, he being a conscientious *Roman catholic*, (says sir *William Keith*, in his history of *Virginia*) was inclined to retire, with his family, to some part of *Virginia*, there quietly to enjoy the free exercise of his religion; for which purpose he went thither himself;" (in, or about the year 1631) "but being discouraged by the universal dislike, which he perceiving the people of *Virginia* had to the very name of a *Papist*, he left *Virginia*, and went further up the bay of *Chesapeake*; and finding there a very large tract of land, commodiously watered with many fine rivers, and not yet planted by any *Christians*, he returned for *England*, and represented to the king, that the colony of *Virginia* had not, as yet, occupied any lands beyond the south bound of *Potomack* river; whereupon he obtained a promise of the king's grant, but dying before it was made out, his son *Cæcilius* took it out in his own name, on the twentieth of June, 1632; the king himself naming it *Maryland*, in honour of his queen, *Henrietta Maria*. It is held by the lords *Baltimore* of the crown, in free and common socage, as of the king's honour of *windfor*, yielding and paying yearly for ever (if demanded) two Indian arrows;—by which charter this lord proprietary has as plenary, or sovereign, a power, as any in *America*; having the sole right to all the quit rents of land there in, which he shall grant out to his *Land-holders*; who, however, are empowered by the crown, to lay on all proper taxes, &c. in their general courts, composed of their representatives duly elected, and of the council: and the governor is always to be appointed by the said lord proprietary, with the king's approbation, &c."

† This place, after it came into the hands of the *Englifs*, was sometimes called *Delaware* town.

solemnly protested; and afterwards *Risings* took it from them by stratagem. He likewise renewed the league of friendship with both the *English* and *Dutch* in the neighbourhood; and also with the *Indians*, at a meeting held with their chiefs, for that purpose, at *Printz's hall*, on *Tenecum Island*.

Smith's
history of
New-York.

The *Indians* had before complained, that the *Swedes* had introduced much evil among them; in consequence of which they alledged, that many of the *Indians*, since their coming were dead. But the *Swedes*, at this treaty, by making them presents, and treating them kindly, removed their murmurings, renewed and fixed a more strict and permanent friendship between them. Their chief, *Noamen*, expressed,—“That as formerly they had been but one body and one heart, they should be henceforward as one head;—It was concluded with mutual engagements to assist, and stand by each other, in all future attempts, that should be made against either party. This league, or agreement, is said to have been faithfully kept by the *Indians*.”

Treaty be-
tween the
Swedes and
Indians.

But the *Dutch*, who, in the neighbouring settlement, had before been troublesome, to the *Swedes*, in the year 1655, fitted out six or seven vessels, from *New Amsterdam*, with six or seven hundred men; and, in the summer of this year, under the command of their Governor, *Peter Stuyvesant* came up *Delaware*, and compelled the *Swedes*, who were in an unprepared condition to oppose them, to deliver up their forts, on terms. They destroyed *New Gottemburg*, with such houses as were without the fort; plundering the inhabitants, and killing their cattle. The officers and principal inhabitants among the *Swedes*, were carried prisoners to *New Amsterdam*; and thence to *Holland*; but the common people, submitting to the *Dutch*, remained in the country. Thus the *Dutch* became possessed again of that part of the west side of *Delaware* bay, &c. since called the *Three lower counties on Delaware*.

The Dutch
reduce the
Swedes on
Delaware,
&c.

This

Smith's history of New York. This country was afterwards under the command of Lieutenant Governors, subject to the control of, and commissioned by, the Director General of *New Amsterdam*, (now *New York*) *John Patin* was the first Vice Director, or Lieutenant Governor, of *South River* (now *Delaware*) his successors were *Alricks*, *Hinojosa* and *William Beekman*.

1657, &c. These Lieutenants had power to grant lands, and their patents made a part of the ancient titles of the present possessors. *Alricks's* commission of the twelfth of April, 1657, shews the extent of the *Dutch* claim, on the west side of *Delaware*, at the time. He was appointed Director General of the Colony of *South river* of *New Netherlands*, and

Extent of the Dutch claim on Delaware, &c. the fortress of *Casimir*, now called *Nieuwer Amstel* (*New Castle*) with all the lands depending thereon according to the first purchase and deed of release of the natives, dated July nineteenth, 1651, beginning at the west side of the *Minquaas*, or *Christina Kill*, in the *Indian* language, *Suspecough*, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called *Bompt-hook* in the *Indian* language, *Canarasse*; and so far in land as the bounds and limits of the *Minquaas* land with all the streams, &c. appurtenances and dependencies."

Ibid. "Of the country northward of the *Kill* no mention is made. In 1658, orders were given to *William Beekman*, to purchase *Cape Hinlopen* from the natives; and to settle and fortify it; which, for want of goods, was not done till the succeeding year."

Lord Baltimore's claim on Delaware, &c. "In the year, 1659, fresh troubles arose from the *Maryland* claim to the lands on *South river*, and in September, Colonel *Nathaniel Utie*, as commissioner from *Fendal*, Lord *Baltimore's* Governor arrived at *Nieuwer Amstel*, from *Maryland*. The country was ordered to be evacuated; Lord *Baltimore* claiming all the land between 38 and 40 degrees of latitude, from sea to sea."

This

This claim of Lord *Baltimore* appears to have laid long undetermined, and, in August, 1663, a ship arrived from *Holland*, at *South river*, with new planters, ammunition and implements of husbandry. Lord *Baltimore's* son landed a little after, and was entertained by *Beekman*, at *Niever Amstel*. This was *Charles*, the son of *Cæcilius*, who, in 1661, had procured a grant and confirmation of the patent passed in favor of his father in 1632. The papistical principles of the *Baltimore* family, the charge of colonizing, the parliamentary war with *Charles* the first, and *Oliver's* usurpation, all conspired to impede the settlement of *Maryland*, till the year 1661, and these considerations account for the extension of the *Dutch* limits on the west side of *Delaware*.”

Impediments to the advancement of Maryland, &c. Ibid.

Thus till the year 1664, *New Sweden* and *New Netherland* continued in possession, and under the government, of the *Dutch*; who, about one hundred and fifty miles up *Hudson's* or *North river*, at their fort *Orange* (now *Albany*) are said, then to have carried on a very profitable trade with the *Indians*, even, as far as *Quebec*.

King *Charles* the second, having no great regard for the *Dutch*, and being determined to prevent the consequences, that might arise from a settlement of that nation, in the midst of the *British* colonies, granted a patent to his brother *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, dated March twentieth, 1664, for sundry tracts of land, in *America*, including what the *Dutch* claimed under the name of *New Netherland*, thus described and bounded, viz.—“ All that part of the main land of *New-England*, beginning at a certain place, called, or known, by the name of *St. Croix*, next adjoining to *New Scotland*, in *America*; and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place, *Pemaquie*, or *Pemaquid*, and so up the river thereof, to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river

Grant of K. Charles the second to the Duke of York, &c.

Bounds of the grant,

of

of *Kimbequin*, and so upwards, and by the short course to the river *Canada*, northward; and all that island, or islands, commonly called by several name or names, of *Meitowacks*, or *Lo Island*, situate and being towards the west of *Ca Cod*, and the narrow *Higansetts*, abutting upon the main land, between the two rivers, there called known by the several names of *Connecticut* and *Hudson* rivers; and all the land from the west-side of *Connecticut* river to the east side of *Delaware Bay*; and also all those several Islands called known by the name of *Martin's Vineyard* or *Nantucks*, otherwise *Nantucket*," &c.

Upon this Sir *Robert Carr*, joined in commission with Colonel *Richard Nicolls*, *George Cartwright* and *Samuel Maverick*, were immediately sent with a small fleet and some land forces, to put the Duke in possession of the country, which they accordingly effected; for coming upon the *Dutch* at unawares, and unprepared, they were obliged to surrender up the country; and their town *New Amsterdam*, on *North river*; which was then forward called *New-York*, in honor of the Duke of *York*.

Reduced under the British government.

Smith's history of New York, &c.

"*Cartwright* was commissioned to subdue the *Dutch*, at fort *Orange*; the garrison capitulated the twenty-fourth of September, and he called *Albany*, from the Duke's *Scotch* title. While *Cartwright* was here, he had an interview with the *Indians* of the *Five nations*, and entered into a league of friendship with them, which remarkable continues to this day."

First league of friendship with the Indians, &c.

Inhabitants on Delaware reduced, &c.

The commissioners likewise sent Sir *Robert Carr* with the ships under his command, to reduce the inhabitants on *Delaware bay* and river; which effected without much difficulty; for, on his arrival at *New Amstel* (*New Castle*) the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, on the first of October, 1664, capitulated and surrendered their fort; six of the principal persons

sons among them signing articles of agreement and submission to the British government.*

"The *English* being now possessed of all the country of *New Netherland*, Colonel *Richard Nicolls* took the government upon him, with the stile of *Deputy Governor*, under the Duke of *York*, of all his territories in *America*:"—very few of the inhabitants chose to remove out of the country; and Governor *Stuyvesant* himself held his estate and died in it.

1664.
English gov-
ernment
at New-
York, and
on Dela-
ware.

In the latter end of October, affairs being in a quiet situation at *New York*, *Nicolls* was commissioned by *Cartwright* and *Maverick*, to repair to *Delaware* bay, for the government of that place, by deputing such officers, civil and military, and for taking such other measures, as he should think proper,

Smith's
history of
New Jer-
sey.

* These articles were as follow, viz.

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT between the honorable Sir *Robert Carr*, knight, on behalf of his majesty of *Great Britain*, and the *Burgo Masters*, on behalf of themselves and all the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, inhabitants on *Delaware* bay, and *Delaware* river.

1. "That all *Burgeesses* and *Planters* will submit themselves to his Majesty without any resistance.

2. "That whoever, or what nation soever, doth submit to his Majesty's authority, shall be protected in their estates, real and personal whatsoever, by his Majesty's laws and justice.

3. "That the present *Magistrates* shall be continued in their offices and jurisdictions, to exercise their civil power as formerly.

4. "That if any *Dutchman*, or other person, shall desire to depart from this river, it shall be lawful for him so to do, with his goods, within six months after the date of these articles.

5. "That the *Magistrates*, and all the inhabitants (who are included in these articles) shall take the oaths of allegiance to his Majesty.

6. "That all people shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences, in Church discipline, as formerly.

7. "That whoever shall take the oaths, is, from that time, a free denizen, and shall enjoy all the privileges of trading into any of his Majesty's dominions, as freely as any *Englishman*, and may require a certificate for so doing.

8. "That the *Schout*, the *Burgo Master*, *Sheriff* and other inferior *Magistrates* shall use and exercise their customary power, in administration of justice, within their precincts, for six months, or until his Majesty's pleasure is further known.

"Dated October 1st. 1664."

proper, till the King's pleasure should be further known. In which situation, affairs in this quarter remained till the year 1668; when *Nicolls* and Council, at *New York*, gave further directions for a better settlement of the government on *Delaware*, which appears, at that time, to have been principally administered by *Carr*; who resided in the place.*

I

* These directions were:—

“ That it is necessary to hold up the name and countenance of a garrison, in *Delaware*, with twenty men, and one commission officer.

“ That the commission officer shall undertake to provide all for provisions for the whole garrison, at the rate of five pence per day, wholesome bread, beer, pease, or beef, that no just complaint be made of either; that the soldiers (so far as conveniently may be) be lodged in the fort, and keep the stockades up, in defence; that the civil government, in the respective plantations, be continued till further orders.

“ That, to prevent all abuses, or oppositions, in civil Magistrate's cases, often as complaint is made, the commission officer, captain *Carr*, shall call the *Schout*, with *Hans Block*, *Israel Holme*, *Peter Rambo*, *Peter & Peter Aldrick*, or any two of them, as counsellors, to advise and determine, by the major vote, what is just, equitable and necessary, in case and cases, in question.

“ That the same persons also, or any two or more of them, be called to advise and direct what is best to be done in all cases of difficulty which may arise from the *Indians*, and to give their council and orders for the arming of the several plantations and planters, who must obey and attend their summons upon such occasion.

“ That two-thirds, at least, of the soldiers remain constantly in the fort about *Newcastle* at all hours.

“ That the fines or premonitions, and light offences be executed with moderation; though it is also necessary that ill men be punished, in exemplary manner.

“ That the commission officer captain *Carr*, in the determination of civil affairs, whereunto the temporary, before mentioned, counsellors are ordered, shall have a casting voice, where votes are equal.

“ That the new appointed counsellors are to take the oath to his *Royal Highness*.

“ That the laws of the government, established by his *Royal Highness*, be shewed, and frequently communicated to the said counsellors, and all others, to the end that, being therewith acquainted, the practice of them may also, in convenient time, be established: which conduces to the public welfare and common justice.

“ That no offensive war be made against any *Indians*, before you receive directions from the government for so doing.

“ That in all matters of difficulty and importance, you must have recourse, by way of appeal, to the Governor and Council at *New-York*.

“ Dated, the 21st. of April, 1668.”

The Duke of *York*, having been thus seized of all that tract of land, before described, did, by his deeds of lease and release, bearing date the 23d. and 24th. days of June 1664, in consideration of a competent sum of money, grant and convey a part thereof, unto *John*, Lord *Berkeley*, Baron of *Stratton*, and Sir *George Carteret*, of *Saltrum*, in *Devon*; who were then members of the King's Council, and to their heirs and assigns forever, bounded and described as follows:—"All that tract of land adjacent to *New-England*, and lying and being to the westward of *Long-Island*, and *Manhatta's-Island*, and bounded, on the east, part by the main sea, and part by *Hudson's river*; and hath upon the West, *Delaware bay*, or river; and extendeth southward to the main ocean, as far as cape *May*, at the mouth of *Delaware bay*; and to the northward, as far as the northernmost branch of the said bay, or river, of *Delaware*, which is in 41 degrees, 40 minutes of latitude, and crosseth over thence, in a straight line, to *Hudson's river*, in 41 degrees, of latitude, which said tract of land is hereafter to be called *Nova Casaria*, or *New-Jersey*," &c. "in as full and ample manner as the same is granted unto the said Duke of *York*, by the before recited letters patent."

First rise,
extent and
bounds of
New-Jer-
sey.

Thus *New Netherland* became divided into *New-Jersey* and *New-York*; the former named from the *isle of Jersey*, in compliment to Sir *George Carteret*, whose family came from thence; the latter took its name in honor of *James Duke of York*.

New-Ne-
therland
divided into
New-Jer-
sey and
New-York.

Lord *Berkeley* and Sir *George Carteret*, having agreed upon certain constitutions or concessions, to such adventurers as should chuse to settle within their grant, (which was the first constitution of *New Jersey*,*) appointed *Philip Carteret*, the first Governor;

Smith's
history of
New-Jer-
sey.

* These concessions, or constitutions, may be seen in the appendix to *Smith's history of New-Jersey*, No 1.

Governor; who arrived in the latter part of the summer, 1665; and these concessions or agreements with the people, were so well liked by them, that the eastern parts of the province were soon considerably peopled. In this situation the constitution and government continued till the year 1676, when the province was divided into *East* and *West New-Jersey*.

1667. After a prudent administration of three years *Nicolls* returned to *England*; and colonel *Francis Lovelace* was appointed, by the Duke, to succeed *Nicolls*, in the government of *New-York*; which he began to exercise in May, 1667. During his time affairs appear to have been in a tranquil situation, on *Delaware*, till about the year 1668; when a disturbance happened from some of the tribe of *Mantas Indians*, nigh the river, about the place where *Burlington* now stands, who had murdered the servants of one of the settlers.

Transactions on Delaware respecting the Indians, &c.

This appears to have been the consequence of *drunkenness*; by reason of the *Indians* themselves *thereupon requesting an absolute prohibition, upon the whole river, of selling strong liquors to the Indians generally*. Such were the early effects of strong liquor among this people; which ever since has been so ruinous and fatal to them; and so frequently the source of pernicious evils to the *European* settlers, near them. Their ignorance of the nature and effects of drunkenness, to which at first they were absolute strangers, rendered them less prepared to resist the temptation; and the extreme effects of madness, arising from intoxication, in a savage state, were consequently more unrestrained and brutish; and, when enraged, more shocking and barbarous than among civilized people:—nevertheless, this request of an absolute prohibition of the sale of strong liquors among them, shews their sense of the introduction of the temptation, their weakness to resist it, and the best means, with them, to avoid the pernicious consequences of it; which

request, afterwards was, from time to time, frequently and earnestly repeated by the different nations; in these parts, before they were much corrupted by this, and other *European* vices.

Human nature, when destitute of a good education, and those benefits, which arise from a wise and early institution in the best knowledge and customs, being the more prone to imbibe and indulge low, immediate and sensual gratifications, than when it is aided by these excellent advantages; which teach to aspire after and pursue the more exalted and arduous paths of virtue and self-denial; views, which, as well as the present, also respect a future more high and lasting felicity, so far above the untutored ideas of savages, is a consideration, that may, in part, account for the greater depravity of the *Indians*, respecting this vice of drunkenness, than is to be found among other people.

1562.

Why the
Indians are
so prone to
drunken-
ness, &c.

These *Indians*, along the *Delaware*, and the adjacent parts of *New-Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*, so far as appears by the best accounts of the early settlement of these provinces, when clear of the effects of the pernicious poison of strong liquor, and before they had much imbibed, and to their own natural depravity added, such *European* vices as before they were strangers to, were naturally, and in general, an inoffensive, faithful and hospitable people.

Since the
Europeans
came
among
them.

Governor *Lovelace* writ to *Carr*, respecting this affair; giving him directions how to proceed in the government both of *Christians* and *Indians*; to consult with the *Indians*, and to send the state of the affair to the council at *New-York*. But it appears to have been afterwards neglected till the year 1671, when *William Tamm* and *Peter Alricks* arrived at *New-York* from *Delaware*, with the particulars of the affair; declaring that if special care was not taken, and effectual means used, the worst consequences would ensue.

Governor
Lovelace
gives direc-
tions to
Carr, &c.

Upon

Upon this the Governor and Council immediately took measures to prevent further mischief; and from *Alrick's* advice, made proper dispositions to bring the offenders to justice:—The Governor prohibited, on pain of death, the selling of powder, shot, and strong liquors to the *Indians*; and wrote to *Carr*, on the occasion, to use the utmost vigilance and caution.

Remark-
able act
of Justice
among the
Indians.

But the *Indians* themselves were determined, as far as possible, to bring the murderers to justice; and accordingly one of them *Tashiwycan*, the chief offender, was shot to death, in the night by the *Indians*, who brought his body to *Wicocoa*; which was afterwards hung in chains at *New-Castle*; the other principal person, concerned in the murder, hearing the report of the gun, ran into the woods and made his escape, not being heard of afterwards.

The *Indians*, on this affair, summoned many of their young men together, and, in the presence of the *English*, told them, that all should in like manner be treated, who should be found in the like practice:—This, at a time, when the *Indians* were numerous and strong, and the *Europeans* few and weak, was a memorable act of justice, and a proof of true friendship to the *English*, greatly alleviating the fear, for which they had so much reason among savages, in this then wilderness country.

Other disturbances
on Delaware,
&c.

Beside this, there was another disturbance, about the same time; a *Swede*, at *Delaware*, who gave out that he was the son of *Conningsmarke*, a Swedish general, attempted to make an insurrection, in order to throw off the *English* allegiance. With him was associated *Henry Coleman*, one of the *Fins*, on the same river, a man of proper talents and who well understood the *Indian* language. But by the timely care and vigilance of the Government their intention was prevented. The former was taken and secured; as to the latter who kept himself among the *Indians*, it de-

not appear what became of him. *Conningsmarke*, commonly called the *Long Fin*, was condemned to die; but, in consideration that his death would involve many other deluded people in deep suffering, his punishment was mitigated to a *whipping*, and branding with the letter *R.* for *Rebellion*, and to be sent abroad. He was accordingly brought fettered from *Delaware*, and kept prisoner in the *Stadt-houfe*, at *New-York*, for one year, and then transported to *Barbadoes*, for sale. It was further ordered, that the chief of his accomplices should forfeit to the King one half of their goods and chattels; and a smaller mulct to be laid on the rest; to be left at the discretion of Commissioners, appointed to examine the matter.

At this time there is likewise an account of an *Indian* rape, committed on a *Christian* woman. The *Indian* was taken and condemned to death by the Commissioners at *Delaware*; but he broke jail.—And one *Douglas* at *Hoarkill*, after this, for making a disturbance among the new settlers, by seditious practices, was secured in jail, and afterwards sent to *New-York*, where he had his trial; and was sent to the eastward, and ordered not to return.

Near the beginning of the year 1669, a commission and letters of instruction were sent from *New-York*, to the *Hoarkill*, authorizing *Hermannus Frederickson* to be *Schout*, *Slander Matson*, *Otto Walgaft*, and *William Cleason*, to be Commissioners: who were to keep good order there; and to try all matters of difference, under ten pounds, among themselves:—Which seems to have been intended to save them the trouble of going to *Newcastle*, upon every trifling occasion; but for all matters above ten pounds they were to apply themselves to *New-York*; and so for all criminals. Governor *Broelace* also gave an order to captain *Martin Neeger*, to receive the customs, for all *Europeant*

1669.

Further
proceed-
ings on De-
laware, &c.

goods, imported at the *Hoarkill*, and on the *furs* and *peltry* exported from thence, viz. ten pounds per cent. in the following words:

1669. "Whereas I am given to understand, that all Eu—
 Appoint- ropean goods imported at the *Hoarkill* in *Delaware*
 ment of bay, did heretofore pay custom, at the rate of
 Collector, &c. at ten pounds per cent. and all *furs* and *peltry* ex—
 Hoarkill, ported from thence, at the same rate; which turned
 or Lewis- to some advantage towards the support of govern—
 town. ment; upon mature advice and consideration had
 thereof, I have thought fit to renew the former
 custom, and do, therefore, hereby order and ap—
 point Captain *Martin Prieger*, who is a person
 well versed in the trade of those parts, and very
 well known there, both to the *Christians* and *In—*
dians, to be Receiver and Collector of the cus—
 toms at *Hoarkill*; where, by himself, or his depu—
 ty, he is to receive ten per cent. of all *European*
 goods, imported there, whether coming from this
 place, *Newcastle* in *Delaware*, or any other parts;
 and ten per cent. also for all *furs*, or *peltry*, ex—
 ported from thence, according to former custom
 and usage, on that behalf; and all persons what—
 soever, trading thither, or from thence, to any
 other place, are to take notice thereof, and obey
 this my commission, under the penalty of confis—
 cation of their goods, if they shall presume to do
 otherwise, the said Captain *Prieger* standing oblig—
 ed to be answerable here, for all such customs, as
 shall be received by himself, or deputy, there;
 of which he is to render unto me a due and ex—
 act account."

In

* *Hoarkill*, the settlement so called, from a small river, or creek, near *Cape-Inlopen*, or *Menlopen*, at the mouth of *Delaware* bay, was a place of considerable importance to the *Swedes*, about that time, though since chiefly become a residence for pilots only, and called *Lewis-town*; before which, at the entrance of the bay, is the road, for ships, &c.

This place (from an old M. S.) is said to have been named *Hoarkill* by the *Dutch*, from the *Indians* prostituting their young women to the *Netherlanders*:—otherwise it is by *David Pieterse de Vries*, who, about the year, 1630, first endeavoured to settle there, called *Swanendale*.

Other

In the Spring of the year 1672, the town of Newcastle was, by the government of *New-York*, made a corporation; to be governed by a Bailiff, and six Associates; after the first year four old to go out, and four others to be chosen. The Bailiff was President, and had a double vote: the Constable was chosen by the bench. They had power to try causes, as far as ten pounds, without appeal. The English laws were established in the town, and among the inhabitants, on both sides of *Delaware*. The office of *Schout* was converted into that of Sheriff, for the Corporation and river, annually chosen. And they were to have free trade, without being obliged to make entry at *New-York*, as before.

1672.
New-Castle
incorporat-
ed.

Smith's his-
tory of N.
Jersey.

About this time an act of violence was committed, at *Hoarkill*, by a party of people from *Maryland*, led by one *Jones*; who seized on the Magistrates and other inhabitants, plundered them and carried off the booty. They were joined by one *Daniel Brown*, a planter of *Hoarkill*. *Brown* was taken, and sent to *New-York*; and there tried and convicted; but, on promise of amendment, and security given for his good behaviour in future, he was dismissed.

The Mary-
landers dis-
turb the in-
habitants at
Hoarkill.

Governor *Lovelace* wrote a spirited letter to the Governor of *Maryland*, on the occasion, complaining of the outrage and injustice, and requesting that the perpetrators might be duly punished. He likewise writ to Captain *Carr*, who presided at *Delaware*, on the same affair, advising him, for the present, to pass by what was done, till he heard from *England*; but in the mean time, that the inhabitants there should prepare, and put themselves

Governor
Lovelace's
conduct on
the occa-
sion.

Other accounts affirm, That the original of the name arose from the winding and turning of the creek, much in the shape of a horn, whence the *Dutch* word, *Hoernkill*:—This is the tradition of the inhabitants there, &c. But soon after it came into the hands of the *English*, it took the above name of *Lewis-town*:—and the creek appears to be much diminished, &c.

themselves in a posture of defence against any future similar invasion.*

In

* The first of these letters is dated the twelfth of August 1674, and is as follows, viz.

" To Philip Calvert, Esquire, Governor of Maryland.

" SIR,

" I thought it had been impossible, now in these portending boisterous times, wherein all true hearted *Englishmen* are buckling on their armour, to vindicate their honors, and to assert the imperial interest of his sacred Majesty's rights and dominions; that now, without any just grounds, either given or pretended, such horrid outrages should be committed on his majesty's liege subjects, under the protection of his Royal Highness's authority, as was exercised by one *Jones*; who, with a party, as dissolute as himself, took the pains to ride to the *Hoarkills*, where in derision and contempt of the Duke's authority, he bound the Magistrates and inhabitants, despitefully treated them, rifled and plundered them of their goods; and when it was demanded, by what authority he acted, he answered in no other language, but a cocked pistol to his breast; which if it had spoke, had, for ever silenced him. I do not remember I have heard of a greater outrage and riot, committed on his Majesty's subjects, in *America*, but once before in *Maryland*; You cannot but imagine his Royal Highness will not be satisfied with these violent proceedings; in which the indignity rebounds on him; neither can you but believe it as easy an undertaking to me, to retaliate the same affront on *Jones's* head, and accomplices, as he did on those indefensible inhabitants: but I rather chuse to have first a more calm redress from you; to whom I now appeal, and from whom I may, in justice, expect that right, in the calligation of *Jones cum sociis*, that your nature and the law has provided for; otherwise I must apply myself to such other remedies, as the exigence of this indignity shall persuade me to; thus, leaving it to your consideration, I shall remain your very humble servant,

" *Fr. Lovelace.*"

The following is his letter to *Carr*, on the same occasion, viz.

" SIR,

" The letters you sent me, by the express over land, came safe to my hands, with the enclosed relation and papers, concerning the *Hoarkill*, and the *Marylanders* forceably possessing themselves of the place; as also of the goods and estates of some of the inhabitants; of which we had some rumours before, but did not give much credit to it; supposing what was done before to be the rash action of some private person, not thinking the authority of *Maryland* would invade his royal highness's territories; which he hath been possessed of for near eight years, without giving the least overture of it to me, who am his Royal Highness's deputy. Their former violent action and force upon those poor unarmed people, together with the particulars of their plunders, I had immediate opportunity of transmitting to his Royal Highness, by a ship then bound away for *London*; the which I made use of, and recommended their case; and I hope, it hath long ere this arrived at his hands, so that some directions, about it, may be expected in a short time; till when, I think it best, for the present, to leave matters there as they are; but,

In this year the inhabitants of *New-Castle* and *Hoarkill*, being likewise plundered by the *Dutch* privateers, were permitted by the government at *New-York*, in reparation of their losses, to lay an imposition to the value of four guilders, in *Wampum*, upon each anker of strong rum, imported, or sold there; power being given to the Magistrates, to levy and receive the same. This was to continue only one year for tryal—*Wampum* was the chief currency of the country; of which, at this time, the *Indians* had carried so much away, that it was become scarce. To encrease the value of which, the Governor and Council, at *New-York*, in the year 1673, issued a proclamation; which was published

Dutch privateers, &c.

Wampum their chief currency, &c.

to the cloud, which hangs over your heads, at *Delaware*, which, it is said, they are making preparations to invade, my instructions and orders to you, and the officers in general, are, that you put yourselves in the best posture of defence possibly you can, by fitting up the fort in the town; keeping your companies in arms, both there and up the river; who are to provide themselves with fitting ammunition; and that all soldiers be at 4 hours warning, upon any alarm, or order given; and that, at the town especially, you make your guards as strong as you can, and keep a strict watch; and if any enemy come to demand the place, that you first fire to know their authority and commission, and how it comes to pass, if the *Province of Maryland* should now make such an invasion, after so long quiet possession of those parts by his Royal Highness's Deputies, under his Majesty's obedience, and by other nations before that, several years before the date of the Lord *Baltimore's* patent; whom they never disturbed in arms; and whose right is now devolved upon the Duke. Stand well upon your guard, and do not begin with them; but, if they first break the peace, by firing upon your guards, or any such hostile action, then use all possible means to defend yourselves and the place; and command all his Majesty's good subjects to be aiding and assisting to you; who, I hope, will not be wanting to their abilities. In all matters of concern, you are to take advice of the chief officers there.

“ This will come to you by your *Bailiff*, Mr. *Peter Alrick*, who is hastening over land, to secure his affairs there, in this portending invasion, and to give his best help for the safeguard of the place, and his Royal Highness's interest, upon all occasions. Fail not to send an express to me, by whom I shall give you such further directions and assistance as will be requisite; and, if occasion should be, will come over myself in person; though the spring would be more suitable for me, than a winter voyage; so recommending all things to your care and vigilance, of which I expect a good account, I conclude, being your very loving friend,

“ *Francis Lovelace*,

Fort James, in New-York, this
7th. of October, 1672. }

lished at *Albany, Esopus, Delaware, Long-Island* and parts adjacent.*

1673. The ambitious designs of *Lewis the XIVth. king* of *France*, against the *Dutch*, and the attachment of *Charles the II. of England*, to the *French court*, gave rise to the war with the *States General* in 1672; which, in the summer of the next following year, extended itself to *America*; when a few *Dutch* ships arrived at *New York*, under the command of *Commodores Cornelius Evertse and Jacob Benkes &c.* The fort surrendered without any resistance, all the magistrates and constables from *East Jersey, Long Island, Esopus and Albany* were immediately summoned to *New-York*, and the major part of them swore allegiance to the *States General* and the prince of *Orange*, upon which colonel *Loveland* returned to *England*.

New-York
&c. taken
by the
Dutch.

Smith's his-
tory of N.
York.

From the *Dutch* records it appears that deputies were sent by the people, inhabiting the country even, as far westward as *Delaware river*; who in the name of their principals, made a declaration of their submission; in return for which certain privileges were granted them, and three judicatories erected at *Niewer Amstel, (New Castle) Upland (Chester) and Hoarkill, (Lewistown)* under *Anthony Colve*, who was commissioned Governor.†

Th-

* " This is the *Indian money*, by them called *Wampum*; by the *Dutch* *Servant*. It is worked out of shells, into the form of beads, and perforated to string on leather. Six beads were formerly valued at a *Stiver*; twenty *Stivers* made what they called a *Guilder*; which was about six pence currency, or four pence, sterling. The white *Wampum* was worked out of the inside of the great *Conques*. The black, or purple was formed out of the inside of the *Muscle*, or *Clam-shell*. These, being strung on leather, are sometimes formed into belts, about four inches broad, and thirty in length; which are commonly given and received as tokens of friendship. — *Wampum* has been long made by certain poor *Indian* families at *Albany*; who support themselves by coining this cash for the traders."

† *Colve's* commission, translated as follows, shews the extent of the *Dutch* claim, at that time in this country, viz.

" The honourable and awful council of war, for their High Mightinesses, the *States General* of the *United Netherlands* and his *Secret Highness*

The Dutch Governor enjoyed his office but a short time; for, on the 9th. of February 1674, the treaty of peace between England and the States General was signed at *Westminster*; the sixth article of which restored this country to the English; the terms of it were generally, "that whatsoever countries, islands, towns, ports, castles or forts, have or shall be taken, on both sides, since the time that the late unhappy war broke out, either in *Europe*, or elsewhere, shall be restored to the former Lord and Proprietor, in the same condition, they shall be in, when the peace itself shall be proclaimed; after which time there shall be no spoil nor plunder of the inhabitants, no demolition of fortifications, or carrying away of guns, powder or other military

1674.

By the
peace, New-
York, &c.
is restored
to the En-
glish, &c.

appoints the Prince of Orange, over a Squadron of ships, now at anchor in Hudson's river, in *New Netherlands*; to all those who shall see or hear the *Grating*. As it is necessary to appoint a fit and able person to carry the chief command over the conquest of *New Netherlands*, with all its dependencies, from cape *Hinlopen* on the south side of the *South or Delaware* bay, and fifteen miles more southerly, with the said bay and *South River*, included, so as they were formerly possessed by the directors of the city of *Amsterdam*, and after by the English government, in the name and right of the Duke of *York*, and further from the said Cape *Hinlopen* along the Great Ocean to the east end of *Long Island* and *Shelter Island*, from thence westward to the middle of the sound, to a town called *Greenwich*, the Main, and to run landward in northerly; provided that such line shall not come within ten miles of *North River*, conformable to a Provincial Treaty, made in 1650, and ratified by the States General, February 22d. 1656, and January 23d. 1664; with all Lands, Rivers, Lakes, Hills, Creeks, Fresh and Salt Waters, Fortresses, Cities, Towns and plantations, therein comprehended. So it is, that we, being sufficiently tired of the capacity of *Anthony Coloe*, captain of a company of foot, in the service of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United *Netherlands*, and his Serene Highness the Prince of *Orange*, &c. by virtue of our Commission, granted us by their before mentioned High Mightinesses, and his Highness, have appointed and qualified, as we do by these presents, appoint and qualify, the said captain *Anthony Coloe* to govern and rule the lands, with the appendencies and dependencies thereof as Governor General; to protect them from all invasions of enemies, as he shall judge most necessary; hereby charging all high and low officers, justices and magistrates, and others in authority, soldiers, burghers, and all the inhabitants of this land, to acknowledge, honour, respect and obey, the said *Anthony Coloe*, as Governor General; for such we judge necessary for the service of the country, waiting the approbation of our principals. This done at fort *William Hendrick*, the 12th. day of August, 1673."

Signed by

CORNELIUS EVERTSE, junior.
JACOB BENKES.

tary stores, which belonged to any castle or fort at the time when it was taken."

Edm. Andros, appointed Governor of New York, &c. Upon conclusion of the peace, in 1674, the Dutch of *York*, to remove all controversy respecting his property, obtained a new patent from the King, dated the 29th. of June, for the lands granted, 1664; and two days after commissioned Major afterwards, Sir *Edmund Andros* to be Governor of his territories in *America*; which were resigned to him by the *Dutch* possessors, on his arrival *New-York*, on the 31st. of October following. Upon which he authorized captain *Cantwell* and *William Tomm*, to take possession of the fort and store at *Newcastle*, for the King's use; and gave them directions to take proper measures to establish order and tranquility there, and the other places on *Delaware*; enjoining all to comport themselves amicably to the neighbouring colonies.

Of *West-New-Jersey*, &c.

W. Penn concerned in the settlement of *West-New-Jersey*, &c. As *West New Jersey* was, at first, settled principally by the same kind of people as *Pennsylvania* was afterwards, viz. by the people called *Quakers* so a short introductory account of the first and early settlement of that colony by these people, &c. which likewise *William Penn* was so much concerned may, in this place, not be improper.

1675. Lord Berkeley sells *West-Jersey*, &c. In or about the year 1675, the Lord *Berkley* sold his half of the Province of *New Jersey* to a person named *John Fenwicke*, in trust for *Edward Byllinge*, and his assigns, in consequence of which the former, this year, arrived with a number of passengers, in a ship, called the *Griffith* from *London*, on a visit to his new purchase.* He landed

* Both *Fenwicke* and *Byllinge* are said to have been of the people called *Quakers*; respecting whose particular characters, nothing very material appears.—*Fenwicke* brought with him two daughters, and many servants:—two of the latter, viz. *Samuel Hodge* and *John Adams* afterwards married his daughters. Some of the others in this ship, were *Edmund Champness*, *Fenwicke's* son in law, *Edward Wade*, *Samuel Wade*, *John Smith* and wife, *Samuel Nicholson*, *Richard Guy*, *Richard Nol*, *Richard Hancock*, *John Pledger*, *Hipolite Lufever*, and *John Math* these, and others with them, were masters of families.

a place, in *West Jersey*, situated upon a creek, or small river, which runs into the river *Delaware*; to which place he gave the name of *Salem*; a name which both the place and creek still retain. This was the first *English* ship, which came to *West-Jersey*; and it was near two years before any more followed: This long interval is supposed to have been occasioned by a disagreement between *Fenwicke* and *Byllinge*; which was at last composed by the kind offices of *William Penn*.

First English ship arrives at W. Jersey.

Byllinge, having been reduced in his circumstances, had agreed to present his interest, in *New-Jersey*, to his creditors; by whose entreaty and importunity, *William Penn*, though it is said, with reluctance, was prevailed upon to become joint trustee with two of them, viz. *Gawen Lawrie*, of *London*, and *Nicholas Lucas*, of *Hertford*, for the management thereof: These he invested with his own moiety of the province; it being all his remaining fortune, for the satisfaction of his creditors.

Names of the proprietors.

Hence *William Penn* became one of the chief instruments in settling *West-New-Jersey*; and thereby acquired some knowledge of the adjacent country of *Pennsylvania*, before it had that name, or was granted to him. And though *New-Jersey* was still undivided, yet, from necessity, many shares of their propriety were soon sold to different purchasers; who consequently also became proprietors, in proportion to their different shares.

1675.

For the better promoting the distribution of rights to lands, an orderly settlement, and a regular government of the colony, in March, 1676, a constitution was drawn up, under the name of, "Concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of *West-New-Jersey*, in America," in 44 chapters; this was mutually agreed to, and signed, as laws, concessions and agreements,

1676.

Proceedings respecting W. N. Jersey.

ments, by 162 names; and may be seen in the appendix to S. Smith's history of *New-Jersey*.

William Penn and the others, having agreed to a division of the province with *Sir George Carteret*, a *Quintipartite deed*, the instrument for dividing the same, between *Sir George Carteret*, on the one part, and *Edward Byllinge*, *William Penn*, *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas*, on the other part, was signed by them, dated the first day of July, 1674. After which the latter wrote to *Richard Hartshorne* a resident in the province, requesting his consent to be joined in commission with two others, *Jam Wasse* and *Richard Guy*; whom they authorized and empowered to act for them, furnishing them with instructions for their conduct, and engaged to ratify and confirm their proceedings, in prosecution of the same. In their letter to *Hartshorne*, dated *London*, the 26th. of the sixth month, 1676, they say,

Extract of the proprietor's letter to R. Hartshorne.

1. " We have divided with *George Carteret* and have sealed deeds of partition, each to the other; and we have all that side on *Delaware* river from one end to the other; the line of partition from the east side of *Little Egg Harbour*, straight North, through the country, to the utmost branch of *Delaware* river; with all powers, privileges and immunities whatsoever:"—" Ours is called *New West Jersey*; his is called *New East Jersey*.†

2. " W

* *Richard Hartshorne* lived in *Middletown*, in *East-Jersey*; he was one of the people called *Quakers*, of good reputation, public character, and of a benevolent disposition, in those early times. He came thither from *London*, in the seventh month, old style, 1669; where he lived many years. There are several of his descendants, still inhabitants of these parts.

† The division line between *East* and *West-Jersey*, as it was afterwards run and marked out, about the year 1687, and agreed to, in the next following year, by *Coxe* and *Barclay*, the respective Governors of each division, more particularly, proceeded from *Little Egg Harbour*, N. by W. as 30 degrees and 5 minutes more westerly 60 miles, to the corner of *John Debie's* plantation, on the south branch of *Raritan* river; from thence continuing behind that and other plantations, to that of *James Dundas*: |
proceede

2. "We have made *concessions* by ourselves; being such as *Friends* here, and there (we question not) will approve of, having sent a copy of them by *James Wasse*: There we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty, as men and christians; that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent: for we put the power in the people; *that is to say*, They to meet, and choose one honest man, for each propriety, who hath subscribed to the *concessions*; all these men to meet, as an Assembly there, to make and repeal laws; to choose a Governor, or a Commissioner, and twelve Assistants, to execute the laws during their pleasure. So every man is capable to choose, or to be chosen; no man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned, or molested, in his estate, or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood: no man to lie in prison for debt; but that his estate satisfy, as far as it will go, and he be set at liberty, to work: no man to be called in question, or molested for his conscience; with many more things mentioned in the said concessions.

3. "We have sent over, by *James Wasse*, a commission, under our hands and seals; wherein we empower *thyself*, *James Wasse* and *Richard Guy*, or any two of you, to act and do according to the instructions, of which here is a copy; having also sent you goods, to buy and purchase some lands of the natives," &c.

The rest of this letter chiefly respected *John Fenwicke*; who, as they apprehended, might probably

proceeded from the most north westerly part thereof, north-eastward, to the north branch of said river; thence by the largest branch thereof, to its north end; from thence to the nearest part of *Passaick* river; whence following its course, and that of *Paguanick* river, so long as it runs northerly, or northwesterly; those rivers still being the bounds between both provinces; and if the latter do not run far enough to the latitude of 41 degrees, then from said river, by a straight line northward to the latitude, the utmost north partition point, from which point, a straight line drawn due east, to the partition point, on *Hudson's* river, to be the boundary between *East-Jersey* and *New York*."

S. Smith's history of New-Jersey.

endeavour to obstrust their mode of proceeding, in settling the colony; that the Commissioners should immediately agree with the *Indians* for lands, and get them surveyed and taken up, before many more people arrived, and the price thereby advanced. The instructions were dated the 18th. of the Sixth month, and purported the method of treating with *John Fenwicke*; the mode of taking up lands of the natives;—Which was all to be divided into one hundred parts, as agreed in *England*, and lots to be cast for the same; viz. ninety parts, for the use of *William Penn*, *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas*; and ten parts for *John Edridge* and *Edmond Warner*, *Fenwicke's* heirs;* and to provide a place for the settlement of a town, &c. The former was signed by *Lawrie*, *Penn*, *Lucas*, *Byllinge*, *Edridge* and *Warner*; the latter, by all these, except *Edridge*.

East-Jersey, which was the property of Sir *George Carteret*, had, before this time, been considerably peopled, under its Governor, *Philip Carteret*, as already mentioned, in the year 1665; so upon the division of the province being now settled, in the present year 1676, the proprietors of *West-New-Jersey* published a description of the country; in consequence of which many people removed thither.

Proprietors
of West-
Jersey were
Quakers.

But the western proprietors being of the people called *Quakers*, their part of the province consequently, through their influence, became settled principally by the same kind of people; but to prevent any of their religious society from rashly, or inadvertently, removing into this new country, or without due consideration, and contrary to the mind of their parents and nearest relatives, three of the principal persons among the proprietors, viz. *W. Penn*,

* To these two persons the said ten parts had been conveyed by *Fenwicke*; being together with a certain sum of money, the proportion, on satisfaction, agreed on between him and *Byllinge*, and conveyed to him by the latter, for his service and trouble, in the concern,

Penn, G. Lawrie and N. Lucas, wrote an epistle, of caution to their friends, the *Quakers*; which, as it further shews their right to this part of the province, the care of that people over one another, at that time, and their concern for an orderly settlement in it; that none might be deceived, and have occasion to repent of such an important undertaking, is not unworthy of the perusal of the posterity and descendants of those early adventurers, settlers and cultivators of the country.*

On

* This epistle was as follows, viz.

" *Dear Friends and Brethren,*

" In the pure love and precious fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ we very dearly salute you;—Forasmuch as there was a paper printed several months ago, entitled, "*The description of New-Weſt-Jerſey*, in which our names were mentioned, as Trustees for one undivided moiety of the said province; and because it is alledged, that some, partly on this account, and others apprehending that the paper, by the manner of its expression, came from the body of Friends, as a religious society of people, and not from particulars, have, through these mistakes, weakly concluded, that the said description, in matter and form, might be writ, printed and recommended on purpose to prompt and allure people to dis-settle and transplant themselves, as its also by some alledged; and because we are informed that several have, on that account, taken encouragement and resolution to transplant themselves and families to that province; and lest any of them (as is feared by some) should go out of a curious and unsettled mind; and others to shun the testimony of the blessed *Cross of Jesus*; of which several weighty friends have a godly jealousy upon their spirits, lest an unwarrantable forwardness should act or hurry, any beside, or beyond, the wisdom and counsel of the Lord, or the freedom of his light and spirit, in their own hearts, and not upon good and weighty grounds; it truly laid upon us to let Friends know how the matter stands; which we shall endeavour to do with all clearness and fidelity.

1. " That there is such a place as *New-Jerſey* is certain.

2. " That it is reputed of those, who have lived and travelled in that country to be wholesome of air, and fruitful of soil, and capable of sea trade, is also certain; and it is not right, in any, to despise it, or disswade those, that find freedom from the Lord, and necessity put upon them, on going.

3. " That the Duke of *York* sold it to those called Lord *Berkeley*, Baron of *Stratton*, and Sir *George Carteret*; equally to be divided between them, is also certain.

4. " One moiety, or half part, of the said province, being the right of the Lord *Berkeley*, was sold by him to *John Fenwicke*, in trust for *Edward Byllinge*, and his assigns.

5. " Forasmuch as *Edward Billinge* (after *William Penn* had ended the difference between *E. Byllinge* and *J. Fenwicke*) was willing to present his interest, in the said province, to his creditors, as all that he had left

him

1667.
Arrival of
the Kent,
&c.

On the 16th. day of the Sixth month 1677, arrived at *New-Castle* from *London*, the ship *Kent*, *Gregory Marlow*, master; with the other Commissioners; which the proprietors had before mentioned,

him, towards their satisfaction, he desired *W. Penn* (though every way unconcerned) and *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas*, two of his creditors, to be trustees, for performance of the same; and because several of his creditors, particularly and very importunately pressed *W. Penn* to accept of the trust, for their sakes and security, we did, all of us comply with these, and the like requests, and accepted of the trust.

6. "Upon this we became trustees for one moiety of the said province yet undivided; and after no little labour, trouble and cost, a division was obtained between the said Sir *George Carteret* and us, as trustees: the country is situated and bounded, as is expressed in the printed description

7. "This now divided moiety is to be cast into one hundred parts, lots or proprieties; ten of which, upon the agreement, made betwixt *E. Billinge* and *J. Fenwicke*, his executors and assigns, with a considerable sum of money by way of satisfaction, for what he became concerned in the purchase from the said Lord *Berkeley*, and by him afterwards conveyed to *John Edridge* and *Edmond Warner*, their heirs and assigns.

8. "The ninety parts remaining are exposed to sale; on behalf of the creditors of the said *Edward Byllinge*. And forasmuch several friends are concerned as creditors, as well as others, and the disposal of so great a part of this country being in our hands; we did in real tenderness and regard to friends, and especially to the poor and necessitous, make friends the first offer; that if any of them, though particularly those, who being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families, should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refusal.

9. "This was the real and honest intent of our hearts, and not to prompt, or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by representing the thing otherwise than it is in itself.

"As to the printed paper, some time since set forth by the creditors, as a description of that province, we say, as to two passages in it, they are not so clearly and safely worded as ought to have been; particularly in seeming to hint, the *Winter* season to be so short a time; when, on further information, we hear it is sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter than therein expressed; and the last clause, relating to liberty of conscience we would not have any to think, that it is promised or intended, to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force of arms; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience; yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms, to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof.

"And be it known unto you all, in the name and fear of Almighty God, his Glory and Honor, Power and Wisdom, Truth and Kingdom is dearer to us, than all visible things; and as our eye has been single and our hearts sincere, in the living God, in this, as in other things, we desire all, whom it may concern, that all groundless jealousies may be judged down, and watched against; and that all extremes may be avoided, on all hands, by the power of the Lord; that nothing while

mentioned, they intended to send. Their names were, *Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Kinsley, Joseph Helmsley, Robert Stacy, Benjamin Scott, Richard Guy, and Thomas Foulke*. They were empowered to purchase lands of the *Indians*; to inspect the rights of such as claimed property; to give directions for the laying out the lands; and, in general, to administer the government, according to the *concessions*.*

Names of
the Com-
missioners.

The

hurts or grieves the holy life of truth in any that goes or stays, may be adhered to, nor any provocation given to break precious unity.

" This am I, *William Penn*, moved of the Lord to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation upon themselves, or others; and, in offending the Lord, slay their own Peace. Blessed are they that can see and behold him their Leader, their Orderer, their Conductor and Preserver in staying and going; whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. And, as we formerly writ, we cannot but repeat our request unto you, that, in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended plantation, such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily, or rashly, conclude on any such remove; and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations, but soberly and conscientiously endeavour to obtain their good will; the unity of friends, where they live; that, whether they go, or stay, it may be of good favour before the Lord, and good people; from whom only can all heavenly and earthly blessings come;—This we thought good to write, for the preventing all misunderstandings, and to declare the real truth of the matter; and so we recommend you all to the Lord, who is the watchman of his Israel. We are your real friends and brethren.

WILLIAM PENN.

GAWEN LAWRIE.

NICHOLAS LUCAS.

* Of these Commissioners, *Richard Guy* came in the first ship; *John Kinsley* died at *Shackamaxon*, (the Indian name of the place, where *Kensington* stands, near *Philadelphia*) soon after his landing.

Among the purchasers of the *West-Jersey* lands, were two companies, both consisting of friends, or *Quakers*; the one of persons from *Yorkshire*, the other from *London*. These contracted for large shares, and had patents for them.—See the concessions, in *Smith's* appendix to the history of *New-Jersey*, No. 2, &c.

Those of the county of *York*, were, *Thomas Hutchinson* of *Beverly*, *Thomas Pearson* of *Bonwicke*, *Joseph Helmsley* of *Great Kelke*, *George Hutchinson* of *Sheffield*, and *Mablon Stacy* of *Hansworth*. All these were principal creditors of *Edward Byllinge*; and to these, several of the other creditors made assignments of their debts, which together amounted to 1500 pounds sterling; and they took, in satisfaction for the sum, one-sixth part of *West-Jersey*; which was conveyed to them by *William Penn*,
Gawen

Passengers on board the *Kent*, &c. They and- ed at Rac- koon-creek, &c.

The number of passengers in this ship, was two hundred and thirty, mostly of the people called *Quakers*; and some of them had good estates in *England*. They landed about *Rackoon creek*, on *Delaware*; where the *Swedens* had some scattered habitations, but insufficient to receive, or accommodate them. This was the second ship, which arrived at *West-Jersey* with passengers. As this ship lay in the river *Thames*, with the passengers on board, ready to sail, king *Charles* the second, in his pleasure barge, coming along side, and observing a great number of people on board, and being informed where they were bound, asked whether they were all *Quakers*, and gave them his blessing.

The Commissioners treat with the *Indians*, &c.

After their arrival, the Commissioners proceeded further up the river, to the place where *Burlington* was afterwards built, then called *Chygoe's-Island* from an *Indian* sachem, who lived there. He they treated with the *Indians*, and entered on the regulation of their settlements; for which, beside the commission of the proprietors, they had likewise obtained that of Governor *Andross*; on whose advice in their passage, they had waited, at *New-York*, to acquaint him with their business; who, as he had received no instructions from the duke of *York*, the case, was unwilling to surrender the government of the place to them, without an order from the Duke. He had continued Governor of the country, since the *Dutch* surrender of it to the King, in 1673; and though the Duke soon afterwards had a re-grant of it, as before observed, yet it was not till the year, 1678, that he, in consequence thereof, made a new grant of *West-Jersey* to the

Gavven Lawrie and *Nicholas Lucas*, and *Edward Byllinge*, in two different deeds, dated the first of the month called March, 1676.

Smith's history of New-Ya

The *Yorkshire* Commissioners were *Joseph Helmley*, *William Roper*, *Robert Stacy*;—those of *London*, were *John Penford*, *Thomas Oliver*, *John Wills* and *Benjamin Scott*.

assigns of Lord Berkeley, as well as also of *East-Jersey*, to *Carteret*, the proprietor of the same.

The Commissioners procured interpreters from the *Swedes*, *Israel Helmes*, *Peter Rambo*, and *Lacy Cock*; and afterwards *Henrie Jacobson Falcombre*. They made divers purchases of lands from the *Indians*; but not having goods sufficient to pay for all they bought, they agreed not to settle any part, till it was paid for.*

The town of *Burlington* was laid out by mutual agreement of the proprietors; and by the Commissioners, it was first named *New-Beverly*; but soon after it got the name of *Burlington*. It was first settled by a considerable number of reputable families, from *Yorkshire*, and other places in England;† a fresh

Burlington
laid out, &c.

S. Smith,
&c.

* *Thomas Olive*, the first mentioned of these Commissioners, by the *Kent*, was afterwards Governor of *West-Jersey*, and in other respects, a man of importance; being both a preacher and writer among the *Quakers*. While he was in the magistracy, by his skill and prudent management, he acquired an universally good character; and in both his religious and civil capacity and deportment, through life, he is said to have merited and obtained the general love and esteem of all people, till his death; which was about the year 1692, at *Rankokus*, where he had lived.

To form an idea of the price of lands, then purchased of the *Indians*, the following instance may suffice, *viz.*

“ The price of the lands, situated between *Oldman’s-creek*, and *Timber-creek*, extending about twenty miles on the river *Delaware*, purchased this year, (1677) consisted of thirty matchcoats, twenty guns, thirty kettles, and one great one, thirty pair of hose, twenty fathom of duffels, thirty petticoats, thirty narrow hoes, thirty bars of lead, fifteen small barrels of powder, seventy knives, thirty *Indian* axes, seventy combs, sixty pair of tobacco tongs, sixty pair of scizzars, sixty *Tinshaw* looking glasses, one hundred and twenty awl blades, one hundred and twenty fish hooks, two grasps of red paint, one hundred and twenty needles, sixty tobacco boxes, two hundred bells, one hundred *Jews* harps, sixty anchors of rum.”

Smith’s history of New-Jersey.

In the same history it is mentioned in another place, about the year, 1703, when the price of lands was consequently much advanced, *viz.*

“ The council (of proprietors) have made two purchases, amounting to, according to our best computation, the number of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, at least; the cost thereof to the *Indians*, with other incidental charges, will amount to about the sum of seven hundred pounds.”

Ibid.

† Some of the masters of families, who came in the ship last mentioned, and settled in and about *Burlington*, were *Thomas Olive*, *Daniel Wills*, *William Peachy*, *William Clayton*, *John Crips*, *Thomas Eves*, *Thomas Harding*, *Thomas Nofiter*, *Thomas Fairnsworth*, *Morgan*

Drewet

a fresh number of which arrived from *Wickaco*, the *Swedes* settlement on *Delaware*, in the latter end of October this year; but the season being so spent, they had only time to erect a kind of *Wigwams*, like those of the *Indians*, for their accommodation during the winter.

1677.

The *Indians* supplied them with corn and venison; which was their principal food. These natives were then not much corrupted with strong liquours, and they were, in general, friendly, kind and helpful to the *English*; though at that time they were very numerous, and the latter, comparing with them, but few and weak; and notwithstanding endeavours had been used, as was supposed by some persons, to render them otherwise, in attempting to make them believe that the *English* had given them the *Small-pox* in their match coats; yet, at a meeting, which they had on this affair, one of the chiefs expressed himself thus:—"In my grandfather's time, the small-pox came; in my father's time the small-pox came; and now, in my time, the small-pox is come;"—then stretching his hand towards

Drewet, William Pennton, Henry Jennings, William Hibe, Samuel Lovett, John Woolston, William Woodmancy, Christopher Saunderson and Robert Powel;—John Wilkinfon and William Perkins died in the passage.—Perkins, early in life, joined in society with the Quakers, lived well, in Leicestershire;—and in the fifty-second year of his age with his wife, four children, and some servants, embarked in this ship among his servants was one, by name, Marshall, a Carpenter, a serviceable person, in fitting up the new habitations."

Smith's history of New-Jersey

Extract from John Crips's letter, dated, *Burlington*, on *Delaware* 26th. 8th. month, 1677, to his friend Henry Stacy, in England.

"Here is a town (*Burlington*) laid out for twenty proprietors, a straight line, drawn from the river side (*Delaware*) up the land, which is to be the main street, and a market place about the middle. The *Swedes* ten proprietors are to build on one side, and the *London* ten, on the other side; and they have ordered one street to be made along the river side; which is not divided with the rest, but in small lots by individuals, and every one that hath any part in a propriety, is to have his share. The town lots for every propriety will be about ten or eleven acres, which is only for a house, orchard and gardens, &c."

towards the skies, he said, "It came from thence:"
to which the rest assented.

In

Thomas Budd, who owned a share of propriety in *West Jersey*, being ancestor to a large family there; and who arrived at *Burlington* in 1678, in a Pamphlet, describing the country about nine or ten years afterwards, says,

"The *Indians* told us, in a conference at *Burlington*, shortly after we came into the country, they were advised to make war on us, and cut us off, while we were but few; for that we sold them the *Small Pox*, with the Match coat they had bought of us:—Which caused our people to be in fears and jealousies concerning them: therefore we sent for the *Indian Kings*, to speak with them, who with many more *Indians*, came to *Burlington*, where we had a conference with them, about the matter. We told them, we came amongst them by their own consent, and had bought the land of them; for which we had honestly paid, as well as for all the commodities which we had, at any time bought of them; that we had been just, kind, and respectful to them, from the time of our first coming; and therefore, know no reason that they had to make war on us. To which one of them in, behalf of the rest, made the following speech in answer."

"Our young men may speak such words as we do not like, nor approve of; and we cannot help it. And some of your young men may speak such words as you do not like; and you cannot help that:—We are your brothers, and intend to live like brothers with you; we have no mind to have war, for when we have war, we are only skin and bones, the meat that we eat does us no good; we always are in fear, we have not the benefit of the sun to shine on us; we hide us in holes and corners; we are minded to live in peace. If we intend, at any time, to make war upon you, we will let you know of it, and the reasons why we make war with you; and if you make us satisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war on you; and if you intend at any time, to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it, and the reason; and if we do not make satisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us; otherwise you ought not to do it: you are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you: we are willing to have a broad path, for you and us to walk in; and if an *Indian* is asleep in this path, the *Englishman* shall pass by and do him no harm. And if an *Englishman* be asleep in this path, the *Indian* shall pass by him and say "he is an *Englishman*; he is asleep, let him alone, he loves sleep." It shall be a plain path; there must not be in this path a stump, to hurt our feet. And as to the *small-pox*, it was once in my grandfather's time; and it could not be the *English*, that could send it to us then; there being no *English*, in the country; and it was once in my father's time; they could not send it us then neither; and now it is in my time; I do not believe they have sent it to us now; I do believe it is the *Man* above that hath sent it us."

"Some are apt to ask, how we can propose safely to live among such a *Heathen* people, as the *Indians*, whose principles and practices lead them to war and bloodshed; and ours on the contrary, to love enemies? I answer, that we settled by the *Indians* consent and goodliking, and bought the land of them, that we settle on; which they conveyed to us by deeds,
under

In November arrived another ship from *London*, with about sixty or seventy passengers; of which some settled at *Salem*; and others at *Burlington*. Among the former are mentioned *James Nevill*, *Henry*

under their hands and seals; and also submitted to several articles of agreement with us, *viz. not to do us any injury*; but if it should so happen, that any of their people, any time, should injure, or do harm to any of us, then they were to make us satisfaction, for the injury done. Therefore if they break these covenants and agreements, then, in consequence thereof, they may be proceeded against, as other offenders, *viz. to keep in subjection to the Magistrate's power*; into whose hands the *sword of justice* is committed to be used by him, *for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well*: therefore I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring offenders to justice, by the power of the magistrate's sword; which is not to be used in vain;—but may be used against such as raise rebellions and insurrections against the government of the country, be they *Christians or Indians*, (now that these have so far agreed to abide the laws of civil government) otherwise it is in vain for us to pretend to magistracy, or government; it being that, which we own to be lawful, both in principle and practice.

——“The *Indians* have been very serviceable to us, by selling us venison, *Indian corn*, peas and beans, fish and fowl:”——“The women plant the corn and carry burdens. There are many of them of a good understanding, considering their education;—and in their public meetings of business, they have excellent order; one speaking after another; and while one is speaking all the rest keep silent, and do not so much as whisper one to the other.

“We had several meetings with them; one was in order to put down the sale of rum, brandy and other strong liquors, to them; they being a people, that have not government of themselves, so as to drink in moderation. At which time there were eight Kings, (one of them was *Okanickon*, a noted friend to the *English*) and many other *Indians*. The Kings sat on a form, and we on another, over against them. They had prepared four belts of *Wampum* (so their current money is called, being black and white beads, made of a fish shell) to give us as seals of the covenant, they made with us. One of the Kings by the consent and appointment of the rest stood up, and made this following speech:

——“The strong liquor was first sold us by the *Dutch*; and they are blind; they had no eyes, they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us, were the *Swedes*, who continued the sale of these strong liquors to us; they were also blind; they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it; although we know it to be hurtful to us; but if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what to do: we then abuse one another; we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of the drinking it, since the time it was first sold us. Those people that sell it are blind; they have no eyes:—But now there is a people come to live amongst us, that have eyes; they see it to be for our hurt, and we know it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it, for our good: Those people have eyes; we are glad such a people are come among us: we must put it down by mutual consent; the
end

Henry Salter, and **George Deacon**, with their families.—And, in this year also arrived the *Fly-Boat*, **Martha**, of *Burlington*, in *Yorkshire*; which sailed from *Hull*, in the latter end of the summer, with one hundred and fourteen passengers.*

In one of these vessels, or about this time, came **John Kinsey**, then a young man; his father, having been one of the Commissioners, before mentioned, who died on his arrival. He was afterwards a person of distinguished services, in divers public stations. His son of the same name, and likewise one of the people called *Quakers*, afterwards Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*, and eminent in the law, was no less memorable for his useful and beneficent abilities and good qualities, both in his public and private life and character.

Arrival of
John Kin-
sey, &c.

Account of
his son J.
Kinsey, &c.

In the Tenth month, O. S. (December) 1678, arrived the *Shield*, from *Hull*, **Daniel Towes**, Commander, and anchored before *Burlington*. This was the

case must be sealed up: it must be made fast; it must not leak by day nor by night, in light nor in the dark; and we give you these four belts of *Wampum*; which we would have you lay up safe, and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement, that we make with you; and we would have you tell your children, that these four belts of *Wampum* are given you, to be witnesses betwixt us and you, of this agreement."

S. Smith's history of New Jersey.

* Some masters of families, in this ship, were, **Thomas Wright**, **William Goforth**, **John Lynam**, **Edward Season**, **William Black**, **Richard Dungworth**, **George Miles**, **William Wood**, **Thomas Schooly**, **Richard Harrison**, **Thomas Hooton**, **Samuel Taylor**, **Marmaduke Horlman**, **William Oxley**, **William Ley**, and **Nathanial Luke**. The families of **Robert Stacy** and **Samuel Odas**; and **Thomas Ellis** and **John Batts**, servants sent by *George Hutchinson*, came in this ship.—Twenty of the passengers were said to be living 45 years afterwards.

Ibid.

Notes. Many who came servants, and were industrious, succeeded better, than some who brought estates, or fortunes, &c. the former, being more generally better suited to encounter the hardships and difficulties of a new country, often acquired considerable possessions; while the latter, being accustomed to live, and depend, on their fortunes, and what they brought with them, had the disadvantage; and sometimes spent all they had, and were reduced to indigence, in a country, where servants were difficult to be had or kept; and the lower class of people naturally became more independant, than in old countries, &c.

time; but, at last, by the management and assiduity of William Penn, George Hutchinson, and others, it was reported in their favor; and Sir John Werden, on the Duke's behalf, wrote to have it discontinued: William Penn and the rest having made it fully appear, that they had purchased the government of the country with the soil; which, therefore, of right, ought not to be subject to any imposition of duties, from the government of New-York; that the Duke of York, having granted all his right to the said country, to the assigns of Lord Berkeley, and these to them, in as ample a manner, as it was granted to the Duke by the King; which was expressly, "*To make, ordain and establish, all manner of orders, laws, directions, instruments and forms of government, and Magistrates, fit and necessary for the territory aforesaid;*"—with this limitation, "*so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England; but as near as may be, agreeably thereto;*"—it was thereby plain, that the colony, or any of its inhabitants, could not possibly be, of right, subject to any laws or impositions, but those of its own, and of Great Britain.*

In

* In the present year 1680, arrived Samuel Jennings, with his family, from Coles-Hill, in Buckinghamshire. He was a person of some note and eminence; a preacher among the Quakers, and sometime Governor of the province;—His letter, after his arrival, directed to William Penn, Edward Byllinge, or G. Lawrie, further mentions the discontinuance of this imposition, as follows:

"Dear Friends,

"THIS may give you an account of mine, and my family's safe arrival in New-Jersey, with all the rest that came with us.—I might say something concerning our passage at sea, but I wave it, for want of time; and, in fine, may observe, all was well; for which I bless God; and the Lord keep us all sensible of it, with the rest of his mercies, for ever."

"Dear Friends, about six weeks since we arrived in Delaware river, where I expected to have met with a combat, in the denial of Customs. In our passage, at sea, I had communicated to all that had any considerable cargo on board, the opinion of Council, concerning the illegal demand thereof, with what else I thought might be for their information; which thus far prevailed, that most, if not all, concerned, seemed resolved

In the settlement of new countries, people differently interested commonly characterize, praise and dispraise them, as it suits their interest to encourage or discourage such colonization; but

See S. we find most of those early adventurers, who soon after their arrival, wrote to their friends, *Smith's history of N. Jersey.* *England*, appear to have been well pleased with the country, by giving a very favourable account of it, in many of their letters, and some of them even, beyond their former expectation; of which the following extract from one, written by an early colonist and proprietor, in the year 1680, may serve as a specimen respecting the native produce of provisions of the country, in those early times.

The new Colonists well pleased with the country.

viz.

Extract of a letter respecting the provisions and native produce of the country. —“ But now a word or two of the strange reports you have of us, and our country I affirm they are not true; and fear they were spoke from a spirit of envy. It is a country that produceth all things for the support and sustenance of man, in a plentiful manner; if it were not for this I should be ashamed of what I have before written but I can stand, having truth on my side, again and before the face of all gainsayers and evil spirits

solved to deny the paying of custom here; having paid all the King's duties in *England*. In good time we came to anchor, in *Delaware* where one *Peter Alricks* (collector of the customs) came aboard, brought a handsome present to our Commander, and sent for me into *Round-bouffe*, where they both were; and Peter told me, he had nothing to say to us, relating to customs; he had no commission for it; nor he knew of any body that had; so we had all our goods safely landed after this unexpected easy manner.

“ In pursuance of the trust committed to me after my arrival, I acquainted those nominated in the commission with me, of it; but a short time after I received your letters, giving me an account of a grant obtained, wherein the customs are taken off; a free port conferred and the government settled on *Edward Byllinge*; which I doubt not will be very acceptable to every honest man. But, as yet I have not time to let the people, in general, know it: and now seeing the people are made legally free, and the government settled, I would not have any thing to remain as a discouragement to planters; here are few good and convenient settlements already, and here is land enough, good enough, for many more.

“ SAMUEL JENIN

“ *New-Jersey, 17th. of October, 1680.*”

I have travelled through most of the places that are settled, and some that are not; and in every place I find the country very apt to answer the expectation of the diligent. I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration; their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste, and lovely to behold. I have seen an apple-tree, from a pippin-kernel, yield a barrel of curious cyder; and peaches in such plenty, that some people took their carts a peach-gathering; I could not but smile at the conceit of it; they are very delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions, that are tied on ropes. I have seen and known, this summer, forty bushels of bold wheat of one bushel sown; and many more such instances I could bring, which would be too tedious here to mention. We have, from the time called May until Michaelmas, great store of very good wild fruits; as, strawberries, cranberries and hurtleberries; which are like our bilberries in *England*, but far sweeter; they are very wholesome fruits. The cranberries, much like cherries, for color and bigness; which may be kept till fruit come again; an excellent sauce is made of them for venison, turkeys, and other great fowl; and they are better to make tarts than either goofberries or cherries; we have them brought to our houses by the *Indians*, in great plenty. My brother Robert had as many cherries, this year, as would have loaded several carts. It is my judgment, by what I have observed, that fruit trees, in this country, destroy themselves by the very weight of their fruit.

“ As for venison and fowls, we have great plenty; we have brought home to our houses, by the *Indians*, seven or eight fat bucks in a day; and sometimes put by as many, having no occasion for them; and fish, in their season very plenteous. my cousin *Revell* and I, with some of my men, went last third month into the river to catch her-

Plenty in
New-Jer-
sey, in
1680.

rings; for, at that time, they came in great shoals into the shallows; we had neither rod nor net; but, after the *Indian* fashion, made a round pinfold, about two yards over, and a foot high, but left a gap for the fish to go in at, and made a bush to lay in the gap, to keep the fish in; and when that was done, we took two long birches, and tied their tops together, and went about a stone-cast above our said pinfold; then hawling these birch-boughs down the stream, where we drove thousands before us; but so many got into our trap as it would hold; and then we began to haul them on shore, as fast as three or four of us could, by two or three at a time; and, after this manner, in half an hour, we could have filled a three bushel sack of as good large herrings as ever I saw. And as to beef and pork, here is great plenty of it, and cheap; and also good sheep. The common grafs of this country feeds bees very fat. I have killed two this year; and therefore I have reason to know it: besides, I have seen this fall, in *Burlington*, killed eight or nine fat oxen and cows on a market day, and all very fat. And though I speak of herrings only, lest any should think we have little other sorts, we have great plenty of most sorts of fish, that ever I saw in *England*: besides several other sorts that are not known there; as, rocks, cat-fish, shads, sheeps-heads, sturgeons; and fowls plenty; as, ducks, geese, turkeys, pheasants, partridges; and many other sorts that I cannot remember, and would be too tedious to mention.

“ Indeed the country, take it as a wilderness, is a brave country, though no place will please all. But some will be ready to say,—He writes of conveniences, but not of inconveniences.—In answer to these, I honestly declare there is some barren land, as, I suppose, there is in most places of the world; and more wood than some would have upon their lands; neither will the country produce corn

corn without labour, nor cattle be got without something to buy them, nor bread with idleness; else it would be a brave country indeed; and I question not, but all then would give it a good word; For my part, I like it so well, I never had the least thought of returning to *England*, except on account of trade.

“MALHON STACY.”

West-New-Jersey being now become populous, and *Edward Byllinge* chosen Governor by the proprietors, in *England*, he commissioned *Samuel Jenings*, some time after his arrival, which was in 1680, to be his deputy. *Jenings* accordingly called an Assembly, with which, in November 1681, he agreed upon certain fundamentals in government, passed a number of laws; and, with the Commissioners for settling and regulating lands, fixed on proper rules and methods, for that purpose, all which may be seen in *S. Smith's* history of that province.”*

1681.
S. Jenings
made De-
puty Go-
vernor un-
der E. Byllinge, &c.

Note. In the year 1683, *Gawen Lawrie*, arriving Deputy-Governor of *East-Jersey*, under *Robert Barclay*, writes thus from *Elizabeth-town*, to the proprietors, at *London*, viz.

“There is not a poor man in all the province, nor that wants; here is abundance of provision; pork and beef at two pence per pound; fish and fowl plenty; oysters, I think, would serve all *England*; wheat four shillings sterling per bushel; Indian wheat two shillings and sixpence; it is exceeding good for food every way; and two or three hundred fold increase: cyder good and plenty, for one penny per quart. Good drink, that is made of water and molasses, stands in about two shillings per barrel;—good venison plenty, brought in to us at eighteen pence the quarter; eggs at three pence per dozen; all things very plenty; land very good as ever I saw: vines, walnuts, peaches, strawberries, and many other things plenty in the woods.”

* About this time a large number of settlers, chiefly friends, or *Quakers*, from *Dublin*, and places adjacent, in *Ireland*, arrived at *Elfsing-burg*, near *Salem*; some of whom, John and Andrew Thompson, and Robert Zane settled there: others went up to *Burlington*; and several of them settled at *New-Town creek*; where the *Indians* were shy, at first, but after becoming more acquainted, they were very kind, friendly and helpful to them.

In the year 1682, the names of the members of Assembly, which was the second Assembly, under *Jenings*, were,

“Thomas Olive, *Speaker*, Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, John Lambert, Thomas Lambert, William Emley, Godfrey Hancock, Daniel Leeds, Thomas Wright, Samuel Borden, Robert Stacy, Thomas Budd, Daniel Wills, *senior*, Thomas Gardiner, John Cripe, John White, John Chaffin,

After this large numbers of fresh settlers continued coming into the province; and, in the year 1682, a ship of 550 tons burthen arrived at *West Jersey*, with three hundred and sixty passengers who landed between *Philadelphia* and *Burlington* on the *Jersey* shore.

The representatives of *West-Jersey*, in general Assembly, continued to be annually elected, till the surrender of the proprietary government to the crown, in 1702; before which time the council, (who were Justices ex officio) Justices of peace and inferior officers of government, were chosen by them; and the Governor was appointed by the proprietors.

Chaffin, Bernard Davenish, Isaac Marriott, William Peachy, William Cooper, Mark Newby, Thomas Thackery, Robert Zane, James Nevil, Richard Guy, Mark Reeves, Richard Hancock, John Smith, John Pledger, Edward Wade, George Deacon, and Samuel Hedge.

Those of the Council were,

" Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Mahlon Stacy, William Biddle, Thomas Budd, John Chaffin, James Nevill, Daniel Wills, Mark Newby, Elias Farre.

Justices for Burlington,

" William Biddle, Robert Stacy, Elias Farre, Mahlon Stacy, John Chaffin, Thomas Budd, Benjamin Scott, John Crips, Thomas Thackery.

Justices for Salem,

" James Nevill, George Deacon, Richard Hancock, Edward Wade.

Commissioners for laying out lands, &c.

" Elias Farre, William Biddle, Thomas Budd, Thomas Gardiner, Mark Newby, James Nevill, Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Benjamin Scott, William Cooper.

Sheriff for Burlington, John White.

Sheriff for Salem, Thomas Woodruffe.

Provincial Clerk and Recorder for Burlington, Thomas Revell.

Ditto for Salem, Samuel Hedge.

Surveyor, Daniel Leeds.

Constables, Robert Schooly, John Pancoast, John Burten, William Brightwen, Thomas Sharp."

Among the laws, passed in *West-Jersey*, under the administration of Jennings, anno 1683, the following indicates their views and care for a orderly, industrious and reputable settlement, &c. viz.

" And whereas, it hath pleased God to commit this country and province into the hands of such, who (for the generality of them) do fear

As to the religious state of the first and early settlers of *West New Jersey*, it is observable, as before mentioned, they consisted principally of the people called *Quakers*; whose religious principles, system, and general practice have been already described: hence on their arrival at the place where *Burlington* now stands, and other places, we find it was their first and great concern publicly to support their religious worship; on account of which many of them had suffered much, in their native country.*

Religious
state of W.
N. Jersey.
in early
time.

Before

fearing God, and painful and industrious, in the promoting and improving the said province; and, for the better preventing of such as are profane, loose and idle and scandalous, from settling amongst us, who are, and will be, not only unserviceable, but greatly burdensome to the province: It is therefore hereby enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all person and persons, who shall transport him, or themselves into this province, shall, within eighteen months after he, or they, shall arrive, in the said province, procure and produce a certificate, under the hands of such of that religious society, to whom he or they did belong, or otherwise, from two Magistrates, if procurable, or two Constables, or Overseers of the poor, with three, or more, creditable persons of the neighbourhood, who inhabit, or belong to the place, where he, or they, did last reside, as may give satisfaction, that is to say, that he, or they came not clandestinely, or fraudently away; and if unmarried, that he, or she, are clear from former engagements, in that particular; and also, that he, or she, are such as live soberly and honestly, to the best of their knowledge; and that no Justice shall presume to marry any such person or persons, who shall come into this province, before such certificate be produced; or that it be laid before the Governor, or two Justices, and give them sufficient satisfaction concerning their clearness; and that all such person and persons, who shall settle in the said province, and shall refuse, or neglect to produce such certificate, as aforesaid, within the said eighteen months, shall be fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council of the said province, not exceeding twenty pounds; the same to be levied by distress and sale on the offender's goods, and to be paid into the hands of the Treasurer of the said Province."

* The following is an extract from a manuscript, written by one of the passengers, in the *Shield*, from Hull, in 1678.

"The first settlers were mostly of the people called *Quakers*, who were well beloved where they came from, and had valuable estates: and though while they lived in their native country, they had plenty of all necessities, yet their desire to remove to *America* was so strong, that they could not be content without going thither; and chose to venture themselves, their wives, children, and all they had, in the undertaking."

"But, notwithstanding the masters of families were men of good estates, yet, before they could get their land in order, and com
and

At first
they meet
under a
tent, &c.

Before a house was built on the place, they constantly at stated times, held their religious meetings under a tent, covered with sail cloth, till *John Woolston* had got his house ready; which was the first framed house in *Burlington*; at whose house, and that of *Thomas Gardiner*, they afterwards continued to hold their meetings both for divine worship, and the discipline or order, or their religious society, till a suitable meeting house was built for that purpose; which was not till several years after their first arrival there, and a similar care and practice appear to have been among them, in other places where they settled.

Among

and Rock about them, they endured great hardships, and went through many difficulties and straits; nevertheless I never perceived any of them to repine, or repent of their coming."——

"As it is said in holy writ, the preparations of the heart, in man, is of the Lord, so it may well be believed, that the hearts of these people were prepared for this service; even, to labor for the replenishing of the land; it being a wilderness indeed, and they unacquainted with the nature of the soil, and also with the inhabitants; altogether pilgrims and strangers, at their first coming among them."

"A providential hand was very visible and remarkable, in many instances, that might be mentioned;——and the Indians were, even, rendered our benefactors and protectors!——Without any carnal weapon we entered the land; and inhabited therein, as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons;——For the most *High* preserved us from harm both of man and beast:——and as the *English* increased more and more, there came such a severe distemper among the *Indians* that they died so fast that, in some places, their bodies waited above ground."

"Many were the instances, whose consideration might be useful to future generations, and the steps of their forefathers and elders, instructive to posterity."

———"The aforesaid people were zealous in performing their religious service; for having, at first, no meeting-house to keep public meetings in, they made a tent, or covert, of sail cloth, to meet under; and after they got some little houses to dwell in, then they kept their meetings in one of them, till they could build a meeting house."——*Thomas Olive* and *William Peachy* were two of the first settlers, who had a public Ministry.

"*Samuel Jennings* and his wife, *Ann*, were early comers to *American* and of worthy memory, endued with both spiritual and temporal wisdom;——some part of his time he was made Governor of *New Jersey*;——he was a suppressor of vice, and an encourager of virtue;——sharp towards evil doers, but tender and loving to them that did well; giving good counsel, and wholesome advice to friends and neighbours;

Among the first things that appear to have come under particular notice and regulation, in their meetings of discipline, after their arrival, were, the giving proper care and support of their poor; the ordering and passing of marriages, (thirteen couple having been married among them at *Burlington*, before the year 1681,) and the discouraging of all their people from selling strong liquors to the *Indians*.

In the year 1680, in an epistle from their *monthly meeting at Burlington*, to the *yearly meeting in London*, which was the first regular correspondence of that nature, established between the society, in this part of the world, and the said *yearly meeting*, they were particularly urgent, among other things, that

First objects of their care in their meetings of discipline, &c.
They write to the Y. meeting in London, &c.
none

neighbours;—an able minister of the gospel; and laboured much therein; to the comfort and edification of many people, both in this province, and other places," &c. M. 8.

Note. Among those of this society, who arrived in this province, before the grant of *Pennsylvania* to *William Penn*, in 1681, or soon afterwards, the following persons appear to be mentioned, as active and useful, not only in their own religious society, but most of them also in a civil capacity, in and about *Burlington*, viz.

John Butcher, Henry Grubb, William Butcher, William Brightwen, Thomas Gardiner, Thomas Foulke, John Bourten, Samuel Jennings, Seth Smith, Walter Pomphrey, Thomas Ellis, James Satterthwaite, Richard Arnold, John Woolman, John Stacy, Thomas Eves, John Payne, Samuel Cleft, William Cooper, John Shinn and William Biles.—And about this time, or soon afterwards, arrived John Skein, Anthony Morris, Samuel Bunting, Francis Collins, Thomas Matthews, Christopher Etherill, John Dewsbury, John Day, Richard Basnett, John Antrom, William Biddle and Samuel Furnace.

Among the women of worthy and eminent character, in the same society, at this time, appear to have been, Elizabeth Gardiner, Sarah Middle, Elizabeth Hooten, Helen Skein, Ann Butcher, Susannah Brighten, Mary Crips, Frances Antrom, Frances Taylor, Ann Jennings, Ann Adkinson, Susannah Budd, Judith Noble, Ann Peachy, &c.

John Woolston is said to have been a person of good esteem among his friends, the *Quakers at Burlington*; and that during more than twenty years fatigue of a new settlement, he ever proved himself a ready friend, and neighbour, and a valuable member of society till his death, in 1698.

Thomas Gardiner was a man of eminence among the *Quakers* and early settlers in *Burlington* and *West-Jersey*. He served in several public offices, in the government, with honor and fidelity;—was very skilful in variety of business;—a good surveyor, and a very useful member of society;—several years, one of the Council; Treasurer of the western division, and the first Speaker of the Assembly, after the union of the governments

none of their friends, or members of the same society in *England*, or elsewhere, should remove them, without certificates, or well authenticated recommendation, from the society, where they last lived, prior to their removal; in order to prevent imposture, idle, disorderly and designing persons from coming among them, and taking advantage of the innocent and well-meaning; and that they might be well advised in such important undertakings.*

The first
general
yearly
meeting,
&c. in
1681.

The first general yearly meeting of the people called *Quakers*, in this country, for regulating the affairs of their religious society, was held, or met at *Burlington*, on the 28th. day of the Sixth month 1681.† It was constituted of such of their religious meetings as were then established, or settled in *New-Jersey*, as, at *Shrewsbury*, *Salem*, *Burlington*, *Rancocas*, &c. and on the west side of *Delaware*, (where divers *English* settlements of the people appear to have been, prior to those under *William Penn*) as, at *Shackamaxon*; (or nigh that place where *Kensington* stands, in the vicinity of *Philadelphia*).

governments of *East* and *West-Jersey*, in 1703. He died at *Burlington* in 1712.

John Skein, was a native of *Scotland*; a person of great service, integrity, both in his religious and civil conduct; he was near two years Governor of *West-Jersey*, and died in the year 1687. He was a preacher among the *Quakers*; had suffered much for his religion, in his native country; where he had distinguished himself in its cause.

* This epistle was signed by *John Woolston*, *Daniel Leeds*, *John Fisher*, *Henry Grubb*, *William Butcher*, *Seth Smith*, *Walter Pomphrey*, *Thomas Ellis*, *James Satterthwaite*, *Thomas Budd*, *William Penn*, *William Brightwen*, *Thomas Gardiner*, *Robert Stacy*, *John Hollis*, *head*, *Robert Powell*, *John Burton*, *Samuel Jennings*;—and by *Richard Arnold*, *John Woolman*, *John Stacy*, *Abraham Hulings*, *Frederick Fretwell*, *Thomas Eves*, *John Payne*, *John Crips*, *Thomas Lamb*, *John Kinsey*, *Samuel Cleft*, *William Cooper*, *John Shin*, *William Thomas Harding*, *William Hulings*.

† On the 31st. this yearly meeting entered upon regulating such affairs of the society, as then appeared first necessary, &c. particularly the appointment of times and places of the different meetings for religious worship, and the discipline, or other business of the society:—at which a general meeting for worship was then agreed to be held year after year at *Salem*, on the second first day of the week in the Second month.

Philadelphia) near the falls of *Delaware*; and at *Upland*, since called *Chester*, &c.*

This yearly meeting of the society on both sides of *Delaware*, was afterwards, from the year 1684, held alternately at *Burlington* and *Philadelphia*, till the year 1761 when it was removed entirely to *Philadelphia*; since which time it continues to be annually held there, and maintains a constant regular intercourse and correspondence with that of the same society in *London*.

Y. M. since removed to Philadelphia, &c.

As

* The first religious meetings of this people, in *New-Jersey*, were regularly settled, first, at *Shrewsbury*, in 1670; second at *Salem*, in 1675. At the former place, in 1667, the settlers are said to have been either all, or most of them, Friends, or Quakers;—among whom *Lewis Morris*, a Friend from *Barbados*, was one of the most considerable, &c. As to the latter place, or *Salem*, the Friends, who came with *John Fenwick*, in 1675, first settled a meeting there, on their arrival.

Note. It may be further observed, that, among the records of early time, viz. about the years 1681 and 1682, there are several papers of religious advice, addressed,—“*To the planters, and such as are transporting them slaves to the plantations, in America*,” among the Quakers, by *George Fox*, the first and chief preacher, in that society; tending to inculcate such a principle and motive of acting and general practice, in life and manners, as, if duly adhered to, would render laws and punishments less necessary, by preventing the causes of them:—These exhorted to a due performance of certain Christian duties, both in a religious and civil capacity; pointing out the infallible means of executing the same;—In which, that the reader may see a specimen of the nature of these advices, among other things, it is there expressed and advised, viz.

1. “That, while they were making outward plantations, in *America*, they should not neglect the more important cultivation of their own minds, and that more excellent improvement, in heavenly riches, and true mental felicity; which is of more lasting duration, than all worldly objects; by faithfully discharging their duty to God, as well as to each other; and their inviting and instructing the *Indians*, and all people, where they came, in the knowledge and practice of true Christianity.

2. “To keep to truth and uprightness, in all their dealings; taking no advantage from the distress of others, or the circumstances of the times; nor to oppress any, through lucrative views, when in their power; nor to be elevated in mind by their temporal acquisitions; which the same hand of Providence, that gave them, could as easily take away:—and that their lives and conversations should be consistent with their profession in all things, and not administer any real occasion for report, that they were become worse, through the increase of their worldly possessions, to the incumbering of their minds, and drawing them into a state, incompatible with their real felicity.

3. “That none should go beyond their abilities and capacities, in any thing, and thereby risk the property of others, to their hurt; nor strive to be great, in the world; but to keep to moderation, in all things.

Proportion
of Quakers,
meetings
with others,
&c.

As to the proportion, which the number of these people, in later years, bears with the rest of the inhabitants, in *West-Jersey*, who have since flocked into it and increased among them, it appears by S. Smith's history of *New-Jersey*, published in 1765, from which the major part of what has here been said of it is taken, that in the eight counties, of which *West-Jersey* consists, there then were meeting-houses, where meetings were held for divine worship, of the *Quakers* thirty-two, of the *Presbyterians* thirty-two, of the different *Baptists* thirteen, of the *Episcopalians*, or church of *England* ten, of the low *Dutch*, *Germans* and *Swedes*, both *Lutheran* and *Presbyterian* congregations, ten, and one of the *Moravians*.

Number of
inhabitants,
&c.

In the same history, the whole number of the inhabitants of both *East* and *West-Jersey*, were then supposed to be about one hundred thousand.

E. Jersey
sold to 12
proprietors,
&c.

East-Jersey was, by the last *Will* of its proprietor, Sir *George Carteret*, ordered to be sold, at his death, to pay his debts.*—He died in 1679; and it

4. "That all, who were in offices of government, as *Governors*, *Judges*, *Justices*, &c. should strictly adhere to justice and equity, distinguishing themselves by the faithful discharge of their duty, especially in helping the poor, fatherless and distressed, &c. (with many quotations out of the S. Scriptures, on this head) and, that, such as rule over others, should, in the first place, govern well their own families; recommending the examples of *David*, *Joseph*, &c. to those in authority; and the Apostle's advice, "To submit to every ordinance of man, whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or to Governors, as to them that owe sub by them, &c."

5. "And, that all these things, with many others, (too tedious here to particularize,) should be observed and done, from a sense, principle, or motive, of conscientious duty; which is a more noble and stronger obligation, on the human mind, and far above what any slavish fear, or mere external force, or power of laws and punishments alone, is able to induce, or effect."

* His *Will* is dated, December 5th 1678; he devises to *Edward*, Earl of *Sandwich*, *John* Earl of *Bath*, *Bernard* *Grenville*, Sir *Thomas* *Crew*, Sir *Robert* *Atkins* and *Edward* *Atkins*, Esquire, and their heirs, among other lands, all his plantation of *New-Jersey*, upon trust and confidence, that they, and the survivors, or survivor of them, should make sale of all the said premises; and out of the money, that should, upon such sale, arise, pay and discharge debts, &c. as therein mentioned."

Smith's history of *New-Jersey*.

it was accordingly disposed of, and conveyed, to twelve persons, or proprietors, and to their heirs and assigns, by indenture of lease and release, bearing date the first and second of February, 1681-2:— Of which *Philip Carteret* had remained Governor ever since the quintipartite division, in 1676, as well as before, till about this time; *Elizabeth-town* being then the capital, or the place of the Governor's residence. The names of the twelve proprietors were, *William Penn*, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, of London, Goldsmith, Ambrose Rigg, John Haywood, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumsted and Thomas Cooper.

Their
names.

These twelve proprietors soon took in twelve others, making, in all, twenty-four. The names of the latter twelve proprietors were, James, Earl of *Perth*, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, Robert Gordon, Aarent Sonmans, Gawen Lawrie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, Thomas Barker, Robert Turner, and Thomas Warne. They published an account of their country, a fresh project for a town, (*Perth Amboy*) and a method of disposing of their lands. Their plan was popular; and many, especially of the *Scotch*, resorted thither: and to these proprietors the Duke of *York* made a fresh grant of *East-Jersey*, bearing date, the 14th, of March, 1682.

Names of
the other
twelve, &c.

Many, if not most, of these proprietors were Friends, or *Quakers*; *Robert Barclay* of *Urie*, in *Scotland*, a very noted person in that society, as before mentioned, being one of them, was by the rest of the proprietors, in 1683, made Governor of *East-Jersey*, for life; *Thomas Rudyard*, of the same society, from *London*, likewise a proprietor, being

Robert
Barclay in
1683, made
Governor of
East Jersey,
&c.

Note. *George Keith*, a Scotchman, sometime Surveyor General of *East-Jersey*, and a noted person among the *Quakers*, is thought to have arrived about this time, (1682) or soon afterwards.

Ibid.

being his deputy; who, either at, or before, this time, had arrived in the province; but he was soon after succeeded by *Gawen Lawrie* of *London*, (one of the proprietors of both *East* and *West-Jersey*, under *Robert Barclay*.*

Government of E. and W. Jersey surrendered to the crown anno 1702.

East and *West-Jersey* thus continued, in an increasing and prosperous state, for a number of years, or till about the year 1701; when the nature of their governments, which were invested in such a large number of proprietors, occasioned so much

* *Barclay's* Commission was in the following words, viz.

"The proprietors of the province of *East-New-Jersey* to our trust and well beloved fellow proprietor, *Robert Barclay* send Greeting:

"Whereas, the powers of government of the province of *East-New-Jersey* is devolved upon us, and assigned to us, by *James* duke of *York* with power to constitute and appoint such Governor and Commissioners for the well governing of the said province, as we shall see meet; and we having heretofore, out of the confidence, we had of *Robert Barclay* his skill, prudence and integrity, constituted him Governor of the said province, to appoint a deputy, during his absence therefrom; to be approved by sixteen of the proprietors: upon the same reason and confidence, we do hereby confirm to him the government of the said province, during all the days of his life; as to have the power of the government of all the said province, and of all isles, rivers, islands and seas, within the same, or belonging thereto; to do all, and every thing, or things which to the charge and office of a Governor doth appertain; commanding all inferior officers to obey him, as their Governor, according to their commission, and the power hereby given him, and according to the laws and constitutions made, or confirmed, by us, or to be made; which he himself is to observe and follow; as unto his duty and office doth appertain. And whereas, we have agreed, and are satisfied, for certain good reasons and considerations, moving us thereunto, to commit the trust unto him, and give him this character, without laying any necessity upon him, to repair to the said province; so likewise we have, as do hereby give him power, from time to time, as need shall be, during his absence, to name and constitute, and grant commission to, a Deputy Governor to serve in the said province; he being always approved by sixteen of us the proprietors, and following the orders, he receives from us, according to the laws and constitutions of the said province.

"Given under the seal of the said province, and signed by our hands; dated at *London*, the 17th. of the Fifth month, called July, in the year of our Lord, according to the English account, 1683."

Note. "*R. Barclay* never came to the province. He died on the 21st of October 1690; having continued Governor till 1683:—when *Lord Neil Campbell*, uncle to the Duke of *Argyle*, was appointed Governor and came over to the province."—"In 1698, *Sir Thomas Lane* was Governor of *East-Jersey*."

Smith's history of New-Jersey

much inconvenience, dispute; party and confusion, that, in the following year, the proprietors of both divisions agreed to surrender the government; which was accordingly done by them, to *Queen Ann*, by an instrument, dated the 15th. day of April, 1702. Since which time they both have continued, in prosperity, united in one government, immediately under the Crown.

It may be further observed from S. Smith's account of this province,

"That the whole extent of it, from North to South, or from Cape May, in latitude 39 degrees, to the north station point, in latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes, at 69½ miles to a degree, is about 184 miles; and its greatest breadth, about 60 miles; but supposing it, at a medium, to be 150, in length, and 50, in breadth, the whole province, must then contain 4,800,000 acres; of which one-fourth part (probably more) is poor, barren land, in respect to tillage; but, in part, abounding with pines and cedars, and some few tracts of swamp, that will make meadow.

East Jersey is divided into five Counties, viz. *Middlesex, Monmouth, Essex, Somerset, and Bergen.* West-Jersey, into eight, as, *Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Cape May, Hunterdon, Morris and Sussex.*

"It is supposed that *West-Jersey*, contains more acres, than the eastern division, and, in return, took more barren land. *East-Jersey*, now in 1765, is supposed to have located nearly 468,000 acres, good land, and 96,000 acres of pine land. The Proprietors of *West-Jersey*, soon after their arrival, divided among them 500,000 acres; which they called the first dividend: since which, at different times, they have issued directions for each proprietor's taking his part of four other dividends, of the like quantity, amounting in the whole, with allowance of five per cent. for roads, to 2,625,000; conjectured

Extent of,
and num-
ber of acres
in, N. Jer-
sey.

Number
of counties,
&c.

Number
of acres in
W. Jersey,
&c.
S. Smith.

conjectured by many to be full as much division contains; of this the far greater already surveyed; what yet remains are the rights of minors and people abroad."

The trade
of N. Jer-
sey centers
in Philadel-
phia and N.
York.

The vicinity of the cities of *New-York* to *Jersey*, and of *Philadelphia* to *West-Jersey* carried most of their foreign trade to the places; to which the inhabitants resort, in respect, as to the capitals of each respective division; so that there is no town of very considerable trade, size, or importance, in that otherwise plentiful and flourishing colony of *New-Jersey*.

THE
HISTORY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

William Penn's chief design in the colonization of Pennsylvania—cause and manner of obtaining the charter.—King Charles the second's royal charter to William Penn.—Boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the real extent and content of the charter.—The King's declaration.—Account of the province, terms of sale for land, and conditions of settlement published, with advice to the adventurers. Free society of traders, &c.

has been mentioned, in the preceding introduction, in what manner William Penn became settled in the province of *West-New-Jersey*, as principal promoter of its colonization, in the year 1676. After which time, as it appears, in the annals of his life, that he continually, and various ways, employed, promoting the happiness of mankind, both in their

1676.

W. Penn's
time spent
in benefiting
mankind.

1676. their religious and civil capacity; inasmuch that his name is revered in a double respect, and rendered dear to posterity. The fruits of his labour have placed his conduct above the power of envy and detraction; which would pervert every good and laudable design to the vilest purposes, and represent the most generous actions, as arising from sordid and sinister views: evils, which always indicate their opposite virtues and true merit, and have their residence in base and low minds.

His views
in the colo-
nization of
Pennsylvania.

The views of *William Penn*, in the colonization of *Pennsylvania*, were most manifest, the best and most exalted, that could occupy the human mind;

* Governor *Hutchinson*, in his history of *Massachusetts-bay*, says, "Our ancestors valued themselves upon being a colony for religion. *Penn* had no other motive to found his colony, than *human policy*."

First, By religion here, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, the author meant, that partial advancement of a particular sect, or of the professors of one particular form of religion only, both in civil and ecclesiastical power and advantages, to the exclusion of all others; which appears by his history, to have been the real case, in that colony:—and by *human policy only*, is to be understood, in this place, the conferring no exclusive favour, nor partial advantages, on the votaries of any particular form of religion alone, according to the political state or constitution of *Pennsylvania*, established by *William Penn*;—for as mentioned in the beginning, it is most certain, that *William Penn*, both religious and civil respect.—"As an universal father, opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect, or party. In his republic was not the religious creed, but personal merit, that entitled every member of society to the protection and emolument of the state."

It is not my business here to compare this kind of religion, with what is here called *human policy alone*, nor to shew how far the latter is or transcends, the unreasonable limitation of the former, both in religious and political sense, notwithstanding the names here given to each, because the perversion, or misapplication of names and words is so frequent and common;—but to call the best religion, *human policy only*, to alter the nature of it, though it may sometimes have an effect on ignorant and inconsiderate minds, &c.

Second, Besides, I think I have known some others, so differently minded in their conceptions of things, and so strongly swayed by opinion, though under pretence of religion, or from declared religious views, as to endeavour to make men believe, "That true Christianity is not to be concerned, as agents, in the affairs of civil government at all, because, say they, "Christ's kingdom is not of this world," &c. I shall not meddle here with such opinions further than, in this history, to state the invariable sentiments, and uniform conduct of *William Penn*'s extravagancy of all such notions.

to render men as free and happy as the nature of 1680.
 their existence could possibly bear, in their civil
 capacity, and in their religious state, to restore to
 them those lost rights and privileges, with which
 God and nature had originally blessed the human
 race. This, in part, he effected; and, by those
 means, which Providence, in the following man-
 ner, put into his hands, he so far brought to
 pass, as both to excite the admiration of strangers,
 and to fix in posterity, that love and honor for
 his memory, which the length of future time will
 scarcely ever be able to efface.

His success
 in this his
 design.

It has already been observed, that the eminent
 public services of *Admiral Penn* had brought him
 in favor at court; to which favor his son, *William*
Penn, succeeded, notwithstanding the singularity
 of the choice of his mode of life. There was a
 large sum of money due, from the government,
 to the Admiral, at the time of his death; much of

W. Penn
 petitions
 the King in
 1680.

When preparing for his settlement and government of *Pennsylvania*
William Penn, in divers of his letters and writings, on the occasion, &c.
 besides what is published, of that nature, in his printed works, expressed
 his religious sense and views, in a manner sufficiently clear, on this affair;
 of which the following short extracts may serve, as a specimen, viz.

First, To his friends, in a more general capacity:—

"And now give me leave to say, I have served the Lord, his truth
 and people, in my day, to my ability, and not sought myself, though
 much spent my self; so has he firmly made me to believe, that I shall
 not, even, outwardly, go without my reward; I see his blessed hand
 therein, that has blessed my faith and patience, and long attendance with
 success. And because I have been somewhat exercised, at times, about
 the nature and end of government, among men, it is reasonable to
 expect, that I should endeavour to establish a just and righteous one, in
 this province; that others may take example by it;—truly this my heart desires.
 For the nations want a precedent: and till vice, and corrupt manners, be
 impartially rebuked and punished, and till virtue and sobriety be cherish-
 ed, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, desire
 the Lord's wisdom to guide me, and those that may be concerned with
 me; that we may do the thing, that is truly wise and just," &c. M.S.

Secondly, To a particular friend in *England*, who afterwards removed to
Pennsylvania, taken from his own hand writing, dated, in 1681, viz.—

"For my country, I eyed the Lord, in obtaining it; and more was I
 drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power,
 than to any other way; I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it; that I may
 not be unworthy of his love; but do that, which may answer his kind
 Providence, and serve his truth and people: that an example may be set up
 to the nations: there may be room there, though not here, for such an
 bold experiment," &c.

1680. which he himself had advanced for the sea service; the rest was for arrearages in his pay. In consequence of this debt, *William Penn*, in the summer of the year 1680, petitioned King *Charles* the second, that *letters patent* might be granted him, for a tract of land, in *America*, lying north of *Maryland*; on the east, bounded by *Delaware* river; on the west limited as *Maryland*; and northward to extend as far as plantable.

This was first laid before the *Privy Council*, and afterwards, the Lords of the committee of trade and plantations. After several meetings on the occasion, in which the objections, from the Duke of *York*, by his agent, Sir *John Werden*, as proprietor of that tract of Land, since called, the counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on *Delaware*; and from the Lord *Baltimore*, proprietor of *Maryland*, were fully heard and debated; the Lord Chief Justice *North*, and the Attorney-General, Sir *William Jones*, being consulted both respecting the grant itself, and also the form, or manner, of making it. The affair was at length, resulted in 1681. *William Penn's* favor; and he was, by charter, dated at *Westminster*, the fourth day of March, 1681, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land and province, now called *Pennsylvania*, and invested with the powers of government of the same.*

W. Penn
obtains the
grant of
Pennsylva-
nia.

* *Anderson*, in his excellent treatise, entitled, "*An historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce*," &c. published in two volumes folio, under the year 1680, thus mentions the rise of this colony, viz.

"The same year, 1680, gave rise to the noble *English* colony of *Pennsylvania*, in *North America*;"—"That country, till now, was mostly a part of *Virginia*, and another part of it was a part of *New York* colony. Mr. *William Penn*, an eminent *Quaker*, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him, at this time;—which he designed for a retreat or *asylum*, for the people of his religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home, through the bigotry of spiritual courts, &c. Mr. *Penn*, therefore, carried thither with him a large embarkation of those *Quakers*; afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more, from *Britain* and *Ireland*. At his first arrival there, he found many *English* families in it, and considerable numbers of *Dutch* and *Swedes*; who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations; which highly merit to be known by all persons, who would apply

Charter consists of twenty-three sections. 1681.
 preamble to which declares the reasons for the
 it were, "The commendable desire of ^{Reasons for}
 Penn to enlarge the *British Empire*, by pro- ^{the grant,}
 &c.
 commodities of trade; reducing the savage
 by gentle and just means, to the love of
 ety, and the Christian religion, and by
 iting an ample colony into that unculti-
 vated country, together with the memorable ser-
 vices of his father *Admiral Penn*;" The whole is
 set forth in the following manner, viz.

Charter of Charles the second, of England,
 and, France and Ireland, King, defender of 1681.
 of the faith, &c. unto William Penn, proprietary
 Governor of the province of Pennsylvania,"
 Charles, by the grace of God, King of Eng-
 land, France and Ireland, defender of the
 faith, to all, to whom these presents shall
 come, greeting:

Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject
 William Penn, Esquire, son and heir of Sir William
 Penn deceased, (out of a commendable desire to Preamble.
 to enlarge our *British* empire, and promote such use-
 ful commodities, as may be of benefit to us and
 our colonies, as also to reduce the savage *Natives*,
 and gentle manners, to the love of civil so-
 ciety and christian religion) hath humbly besought
 US, to transport an ample colony unto a
 country, herein after described, in the parts
 of America, not yet cultivated and planted; and
 likewise so humbly besought our royal Ma-
 jesty, grant and confirm all the said country,
 with

colonizing. The true wisdom, as well as equity, of his
 Majesty's of all religious persuasions, as well as his kind, just and
 treatment of the native *Indians*; also his laws, policy and ge-
 neral conduct endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the
 whole economy, that, although so lately planted, it is
 this day (about the year 1760) to have more white people in
 the colony, on all the continent of *English America*, New-
 York excepted."

with certain privileges and jurisdictions, requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony, to him, and his heirs forever.

Section I.

Consideration of the grant.

“ Know ye, therefore, that we, (favoring the petition and good purpose of the said *William Penn*, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father, in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage and discretion, under our dearest brother *James Duke of York*, in that signal battle and victory, fought and obtained, against the *Dutch* fleet, commanded by the *Heer Van Opdam*, in the year 1665: In consideration thereof, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion) have given and granted, and, by this our present *Charter*, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, all that tract, or part, of land, in *America*, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded, on the east, by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles distance northwards of *New-Castle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward, but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said fortieth degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle, drawn at twelve miles distance from *New-Castle*, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude; and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.

Bounds of the grant.

Section II.

“ We do also give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, the free, and undisturbed use, and continuance in, and passage unto, and out of all and singular ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, isles and inlets, belonging unto, or leading to, and from, the country, or lands aforesaid, and all the soils, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountains, hills, fenns, isles, lakes, rivers, waters, rivulets, bays and inlets, situated, or being within, or belonging to, the limits, or bounds, aforesaid, together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeon, and all royal, and other fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets, waters, or rivers, within the premises, and all the fish taken therein; and also all veins, mines, minerals and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gemms, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it stones, metals, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the country, or limits, aforesaid.

1681.

Free passage, &c. granted.

Section III.

“ And him, the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, we do by this our *royal charter*, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute proprietary of the country aforesaid, and of all other the premises; saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, and of all other proprietaries, tenants and inhabitants, that are, or shall be, within the territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving also unto us, our heirs and successors, the sovereignty of the aforesaid country; to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said tract of land, country, isles, inlets, and other the premises, unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, forever, to be holden

W. Penn, &c. made absolute proprietary, &c.

1681. holden of us, our heirs and successors, kings of *England*, as of our castle of *Windsor*, in the county of *Berks*, in free and common soccage, by *fealty* only, for all services and not *in capite*, or by knight service: yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, two *Beaver skins*, to be delivered at our castle of *Windsor*, on the first day of January, in every year; and also the fifth part of of all gold, and silver oar, which shall, from time to time, happen to be found within the limits aforesaid, clear of all charges. And of our further grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, We have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect, the aforesaid country and islands into a province and seigniory, and do call it *Pensilvania*, and so from henceforth will have it called.

To be held
in common
socage,
&c.

One-fifth
of gold and
silver oar
reserved.

The name.

Section IV.

“ And, for as much as, we have hereby made and ordained the aforesaid *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, the true and absolute proprietaries of all the lands and dominions aforesaid, Know ye, therefore, that we (reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice and provident circumspection of the said *William Penn*) for us, our heirs and successors, do grant free, full and absolute power, by virtue of these presents, to him and his heirs, to his, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make and enact, and, under his and their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or for any other end, appertaining either unto the public state, peace, or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according unto the best discretion, and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the said laws,

Power to
make laws,
&c.

ws, when, and as often as need shall require, 1681.
 e will that the said *William Penn*, and his heirs
 all assemble, in such sort and form, as to him
 and them shall seem best, and the same laws duly
 execute, unto and upon all people, within the
 said country and limits thereof.

With this
 Assembly,
 &c.

Section V.

“ And we do likewise give and grant unto the
 said *William Penn*, and to his heirs, and their de-
 uties and lieutenants, full power and authority
 to appoint and establish any Judges and Justices,
 Magistrates, and other officers whatsoever, (for
 the probates of wills, and for the granting of ad-
 ministration within the precincts aforesaid, and with
 that power soever, and in such form, as to the said
William Penn, or his heirs shall seem most conve-
 nient: also to remit, release, pardon and abolish (whether
 before judgment or after) all crimes and of-
 fences whatsoever, committed within the said
 country, against the laws, (treason and wilful and
 malicious murder only excepted, and, in those
 cases, to grant reprieves, until our pleasure may
 be known therein) and to do all and every other
 thing and things, which unto the complete esta-
 blishment of justice, unto courts and tribunals,
 forms of judicature, and manner of proceedings
 belong, although, in these presents, expres-
 sation be not made thereof; and by judges, by
 whom delegated, to award process, hold pleas,
 and determine, in all the said courts and tribunals,
 actions, suits and causes whatsoever, as well
 criminal as civil, personal, real and mixt; which
 shall, so as aforesaid, to be published, our plea-
 sure is, and so we enjoin, require and command,
 that be most absolute and available in law; and
 that all the liege people and subjects of us, our
 heirs and successors, do observe and keep the same
 faithfully in those parts, so far as they concern them,
 without the pain therein expressed, or to be expressed.

Power to
 make jud-
 ges and
 other offi-
 cers, &c.

Power of
 pardoning,
 reprieving,
 &c.

What may
 be done by
 the judges,
 &c.

Provided


Provido. *Provided nevertheless,* That the same laws be consonant to reason, and not repugnant, or contrary, but, (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes, and rights of this our kingdom of *England*; and saving and serving to us, our heirs and successors, the receiving, hearing and determining of the appeals of all, or any person, or persons, of, or belonging to the territories aforesaid, or touching any judgment to be there made, or given.

The hearing of appeals reserved.

Section VI.

“ And, for as much as, in the government so great a country, sudden accidents do often happen, whereunto it will be necessary to apply remedy before the freeholders of the said province, their delegates, or deputies, can be assembled, the making of laws; neither will it be convenient that instantly upon every such occasion, so great a multitude should be called together: Therefore (for the better government of the said country) we will and ordain, and by these presents, for our heirs and successors, do grant unto the *William Penn* and his heirs, by themselves, or their Magistrates and officers, in that behalf, duly to be ordained, as aforesaid, to make and constitute fit and wholesome ordinances, from time to time, within the said country to be kept and observed, as well for the preservation of the peace, as the better government of the people there inhabiting; and publicly to notify the same to all persons, whom the same doth, or may any way concern. Which ordinances our will and pleasure is shall be observed inviolably within the said province, under the pains therein to be expressed as the said ordinances be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant nor contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable with the laws of the kingdom of *England*, and so as the said ordinances

Power to make ordinances, &c.

be not extended, in any sort, to bind, change, or 1681
 take away the right, or interest of any person, or
 persons, for, or in, their life, members, freehold,  Their ex
 goods, or chattels. And our farther will and tent.
 pleasure is, That the laws for regulating and go-
 verning of property within the said province, as
 well as for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as
 likewise for the enjoyment and succession of goods
 and chattels, and likewise as to felonies, shall be
 and continue the same, as they shall be for the
 time being by the general course of the law in our
 kingdom of *England*, until the said laws shall be
 altered by the said *William Penn*, his heirs or assigns,
 and by the freemen of the said province, their de-
 legates, or deputies, or the greater part of them.

Property,
 &c. regula-
 ted by the
 laws of En-
 gland, till
 altered, &c.

Section VII.

“ And to the end that the said *William Penn*,
 or his heirs, or other the planters, owners, or
 inhabitants of the said province may not, at any
 time hereafter (by misconstruction of the power
 aforesaid) through inadvertency, or design, de-
 part from that faith and due allegiance, which by
 the laws of this our realm of *England*, they and
 all our subjects, in our dominions and territories,
 always owe to us, our heirs and successors, by co-
 lour of any extent, or largeness of powers hereby
 given, or pretended to be given, or by force or
 colour of any laws hereafter to be made, in the
 said province, by virtue of any such powers; Our
 farther will and pleasure is, that a transcript or
 duplicate, of all laws, which shall be so, as afore-
 said, made and published within the said province,
 shall within five years after the making thereof, be
 transmitted and delivered to the Privy Council, for
 the time being, of us, our heirs and successors:
 And if any of the said laws, within the space of
 six months after that they shall be so transmitted
 and delivered, be declared by us, our heirs and

Duplicate
 of all laws
 to be trans-
 mitted to
 the privy
 council,
 &c.

1681. successors, in our, or their Privy Council, inconsistent with the sovereignty, or lawful prerogative of us, our heirs and successors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance, due to the legal government of this realm, from the said *William Penn*, or his heirs, or of the planters and inhabitants of the said province, and that thereupon any of the said laws shall be adjudged and declared to be void by us, our heirs and successors, under our, or their privy seal, that then, and from thenceforth such laws, concerning which such judgment and declaration shall be made, shall become void: otherwise the said laws, so transmitted, shall remain and stand in full force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

Section VIII.

Liberty for
King's sub-
jects to
transport
themselves,
&c.

“ Furthermore, that this new colony may the more happily increase by the multitude of people resorting thither; Therefore, we, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, by these presents, power, licence, and liberty unto all the liege people and subjects, both present and future, of us, our heirs and successors, (excepting those, who shall be especially forbidden) to transport themselves and families unto the said country, with such convenient shipping, as, by the laws of this our kingdom of *England*, they ought to use, and with fitting provision; paying only the customs therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabit and plant, for the public, and their own private advantage.

Section IX.

And their
goods, mer-
chandise,
&c.

“ And furthermore, that our subjects may be the rather encouraged to undertake this expedition with ready and chearful minds, *Know ye*, That we, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do give and grant, by virtue of these presents, as well unto the said *William Penn* and

and his heirs, as to all others, who shall, from 1681.
time to time, repair unto the said country, full
licence to lade and freight, in any ports whatsoever
of us, our heirs and successors, according to the
laws made, or to be made, within our kingdom
of *England*, and unto the said country, by them,
their servants or assigns, to transport all and sin-
gular their goods, wares and merchandizes, as
likewise all sorts of grain whatsoever, and all
other things whatsoever, necessary for food, or
cloathing, not prohibited, by the laws and statutes
of our kingdom and dominions, to be carried out
of the said kingdom, without any let, or molesta-
tion of us, our heirs and successors, or of any of the
officers of us, our heirs or successors; saving al-
ways to us, our heirs and successors, the legal im-
positions, customs, or other duties and payments
for the said wares and merchandizes, by any law
or statute, due, or to be due, to us, our heirs and
successors.

Paying the
customs.

Section X.

“ And we do further, for us, our heirs and
successors, give and grant unto the said *William
Penn*, his heirs and assigns, free and absolute
power, to divide the said country and islands into
towns, hundreds and counties, and to erect and
incorporate towns into burroughs, and burroughs
into cities, and to make and constitute fairs and
markets therein, with all other convenient privi-
leges and immunities, according to the merits of
the inhabitants, and the fitness of the places, and
to do all, and every other thing and things, touch-
ing the premises, which to him, or them, shall
seem meet and requisite; albeit they be such, as of
their own nature might otherwise require a more
special commandment and warrant, than, in these
presents, is expressed.

Power to
divide the
country in-
to districts,
&c.

Section XI.

“ We will also, and, by these presents, for us,
our heirs and successors, we do give and grant li-

1681. cence, by this our charter, unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, and to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the province aforesaid, both present and to come, to import, or unlade, by themselves, or their servants, factors, or assigns, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the fruits and commodities of the said province, either by land or sea, into any of the ports of us, our heirs, or successors, in our kingdom of *England*, and not into any other country whatsoever: and we give him full power to dispose of the said goods, in the said ports; and, if need be, within one year after the unlading of the same, to lade the said merchandize and goods again, into the same, or other ships, and to transport the same into any other countries, either of our dominions, or foreign, according to law; provided always, that they pay such customs and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same, to us, our heirs and successors, as the rest of our subjects of our kingdom of *England*, for the time being, shall be bound to pay, and do observe the acts of navigation, and other laws, in that behalf made.

To import
and export
produce in-
to and
from En-
gland.

Paying the
customs,
&c.

Section XII.

“ And furthermore, of our ample and special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power and authority, to make, erect and constitute, within the said province, and the isles and inlets aforesaid, such and so many sea ports, harbours, creeks, havens, keys, and other places, for discharging and unlading of goods and merchandize, out of the ships, boats, and other vessels, and landing them unto such, and so many places, and with such rights, jurisdictions, liberties and privileges, unto the said ports belonging, as to him and them shall seem most expedient; and that all, and singular the ships, boats and other

Power to
constitute
ports &c.

er vessels, which shall come for merchandize
d trade, into the said province, or out of the
ne, shall be laden, or unladen, only at such
rts, as shall be created and constituted by the
d *William Penn*, his heirs, or assigns, (any use,
from or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.)
vided, that the said *William Penn* and his heirs,
d the Lieutenants and Governors, for the
ne being, shall admit and receive in and about
such havens, ports, creeks and keys, all officers
d their deputies, who shall, from time to time,
: appointed for that purpose by the farmers, or
ommissioners of our customs for the time being.

Proviso
for admis-
sion of the
the King's
officers,
&c.

Section XIII.

“ And we do further appoint and ordain, and
r these presents, for us, our heirs and successors,
e do grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs
d assigns, that he, the said *William Penn*, his
irs and assigns, may, from time to time, for
er, have and enjoy the customs and subsidies,
the ports, harbours and other creeks, and
aces aforesaid, within the province aforesaid,
yable, or due for merchandize and wares there
be laded and unladed, the said customs and
sidies to be reasonably assessed, upon any oc-
sion, by themselves and the people there, as
refraid to be assembled, to whom we give power
these presents, for us, our heirs and successors,
on just cause, and due proportion, to assess and
pose the same; saving unto us, our heirs and
cessors, such impositions and customs, as, by
of Parliament, are, and shall be, appointed.

Power to
assess cus-
toms on
goods, &c.

Section XIV.

“ And it is our farther will and pleasure, that
said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, shall,
time to time, constitute and appoint an *Attor-*
or agent, to reside in, or near our city of *Lon-*
who shall make known the place where he
shall

The Pro-
prietor to
appoint an
Attorney,
to reside in
London,
&c.

shall dwell, or may be found, unto the clerks of our privy council, for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appear in any of our courts, at *Westminster*, to answer for any misdemeanour, that shall be committed, or by any wilful default, or neglect, permitted by the said *William Penn*, his heirs or assigns, against the laws of trade and navigation; and after it shall be ascertained, in any of our courts, what damages we, or our heirs, or successors, shall have sustained by such default, or neglect, the said *William Penn*, his heirs, or assigns, shall pay the same within one year, after such taxation, and demand thereof from such attorney; or in case there shall be no such attorney by the space of one year, or such attorney shall not make payment of such damages, within the space of a year, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties, within the said time, as by acts of parliament, in *England*, are and shall be provided according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; then it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, to seize and resume the government of the said province or country, and the same to retain, until payment shall be made thereof: but notwithstanding any such seizure, or resumption of the government, nothing concerning the propriety, or ownership, of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, goods or chattels of any of the adventurers, planters or owners, other than the respective offenders there, shall any ways be affected or molested thereby.

Section XV.

Peace and
War, to be
observed as
in Great
Britain.

“ Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that neither the said *William Penn*, nor his heirs, nor any other, the inhabitants of the said province, shall, at any time hereafter, have or maintain, any correspondence with any other king, prince or state, or with any of their subjects, who shall then be in war against us, our heirs and successors; nor shall

hall the said *William Penn*, or his heirs or any other inhabitants of the said province, make war, or do any act of hostility against any other king, prince, or state, or any of their subjects, who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heirs and successors.

Section XVI.

“ And because, in so remote a country, and situate near many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; Therefore, we have given, and, for us, our heirs and successors, do give power, by these presents, to the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, by themselves, or their captains, or other their officers, ^{Power of a captain-general granted, &c.} to levy, muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition soever, or wheresoever born, in the said province of *Pennsylvania*, for the time being, and to make war, and to pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, even, without the limits of the said province, and, by God’s assistance, to vanquish and take them; and being taken, to put them to death, by the law of war, or to save them; at their pleasure, and to do all and every other thing, which unto the charge and office of a captain general of an army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any captain general of an army hath ever had the same.

Section XVII.

“ And furthermore, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power, licence and authority, that he, the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, from ^{Power to alien the premises.} time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own will

will and pleasure, may assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeoff of the premises so many, and such parts and parcels to him, or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall think fit; to have and to hold to them, the said persons or persons willing to take and purchase, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, or fee tail, or for term of life, lives, or years, to be held of the said *William Penn*, his heirs, or assigns, as of the fee seigniority of *Windſor*, by such services, custom or rents, as shall seem meet to the said *William Penn*, his heirs, or assigns, and not immediate of us, our heirs or successors.

Section XVIII.

Power to
the purcha-
fers to hold
by the Pro-
prietor's
grant.

“ And to the same person, or persons, and all and every of them, we do give and grant, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, licence, authority and power, that such person or persons, may take the premises, or any part thereof, of the aforesaid *William Penn*, his heirs or assigns, and the same to hold to themselves their heirs and assigns, in what estate of inheritance soever, in fee simple, or in fee tail, or otherwise, as to him the said *William Penn*, his heirs or assigns, shall seem expedient: The statute made in the parliament of *Edward*, the son of King *Henry* late King of *England*, our predecessor (commonly called the statute, “ *Quia Emptores Terrarum*” lately published in our kingdom of *England*) in any wise notwithstanding.

Section XIX.

Leave to
erect man-
ors, &c.

“ And by these presents, we give and grant licence unto the said *William Penn* and his heirs, as likewise to all, and every such person, or persons to whom the said *William Penn*, or his heirs, shall at any time hereafter, grant any estate, or inheritance, as aforesaid, to erect any parcels of land within the province aforesaid, into manors, by and with the licence, to be first had and obtained, from

that purpose, under the hand and seal of the said 1681.
William Penn, or his heirs; and, in every of the said manors, to have and hold a *Court-Baron*, with all things whatsoever, which to a *Court-Baron* do belong, and to have and to hold *View of Frank Pledge*, for the conservation of the peace, and the better government of those parts, by themselves, or their stewards, or by the lords for the time being, of the manors to be deputed, when they shall be erected, and, in the same, to use all things belonging to the *View of Frank Pledge*. And we do further grant licence and authority, That every such person, or persons, who shall erect any such manor, or manors, as aforesaid, shall, or may, grant all, or any part of his said land to any person, or persons, in fee simple, or any other estate of inheritance to be held of the said manors respectively, so as no further tenure shall be created, but that upon all further, or other alienations thereafter to be made, the said lands so aliened shall be held of the same lord and his heirs, of whom the aliener did then before hold, and by the like rents and services, which were before due and accustomed.

Section XX.

“ And furthermore, our pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do covenant and grant to and with the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, that we, our heirs and successors, shall, at no time hereafter, set, or make, or cause to be set, or made, any imposition, custom, or other taxation, rate, or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province, for their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, within the said province, or in and upon any goods and merchandizes within the province, or to be laden, or unladen within the ports, or harbours of the said province, unless the same be with the consent of the

No tax, &c.
 without the
 consent of
 the proprie-
 tor or peo-
 ple, or by
 act of par-
 liament.

1681. the Proprietary, or Chief Governor, or Assent
 or by act of parliament in *England*.

Section XXI.

This de-
 claration to
 be deemed
 an acquit-
 tance.

“ And our pleasure is, and, for us, our he
 and successors, we charge and command, that t
 our declaration shall be from henceforth, fro
 time to time, be received and allowed, in all c
 courts, and before all the judges of us, our he
 and successors, for a sufficient lawful dischar
 payment and acquittance; commanding all o
 officers and ministers of us, our heirs and succ
 fers, and enjoining them upon pain of our high
 displeasure, that they do not presume, at any tin
 to attempt any thing to the contrary of the p
 mises, or that do, in any fort, withstand the sam
 but, that they be, at all times, aiding and assistin
 as is fitting, to the said *William Penn*, and his hei
 and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the p
 vince aforesaid, their servants, ministers, fact
 and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the l
 nefit of this our charter.

No offi-
 cer, &c. to
 counteract
 this char-
 ter, &c.

Section XXII.

Provisi-
 on for a
 preacher,
 &c. on ap-
 plication to
 the bishop
 of London,
 &c.

“ And our farther pleasure is, and we do he
 by, for us, our heirs and successors, charge a
 require, That, if any of the inhabitants of t
 said province, to the number of twenty, sha
 at any time hereafter, be desirous, and sha
 by any writing, or by any person deputed
 them, signify such their desire to the bish
 of *London*, for the time being, that any preach
 or preachers, to be approved of by the said bish
 may be sent unto them, for their instruction; a
 then such preacher, or preachers, shall and m
 reside within the said province, without any den
 or molestation whatsoever.

Section XXIII.

“ And, if perchance hereafter any doubt
 question should arise concerning the true sense a
 meani

meaning of any word, clause, or sentence, contained in this our present charter, we will, ordain and command, that, at all times, and in all things, such interpretation be made thereof, and allowed, in any of our courts whatsoever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favorable unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns: *Provided always*, no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heirs and successors, may suffer any prejudice or diminution; although express mention be not made, in these presents, of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of other gifts and grants, made by us, and our progenitors, or predecessors, unto the said *William Penn*: Any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, heretofore had, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. *In Witness* whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent: *Witness Ourself*, at *Westminster*, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of our reign, Annoque Domini one thousand six hundred and eighty-one.

1681.
Double meaning of any part, to be in favor of William Penn, &c.

Date

“ By writ of Privy Seal,

PIGOTT.”

By the first section of this charter the extent and boundary of the province are expressed in such plain terms, that it might reasonably be supposed they could not well, or easily, be misunderstood: three degrees of latitude, included and bounded, between the beginning of the fortieth, and the beginning of the forty-third degree of north latitude, equal to about two hundred and eight *English* statute miles, north and south, with five degrees of longitude, westward from *Delaware* river, which, the parallel of forty-one degrees, are equal to nearly


Of the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania.

1681. nearly two hundred and sixty-five miles, east and west, are as clearly and manifestly expressed to be granted to the proprietary of *Pennsylvania*, as words can do it; and we are otherwise sufficiently certified that the same space, or quantity of land, was intended by the King to be included in the said grant; yet the dispute between the proprietaries of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*, on this point, was afterwards remarkable, and of many years continuance; occasioned by each of the respective proprietaries claiming to himself the whole space, or extent, of the land, contained in the fortieth degree of latitude; which was the north boundary of *Maryland*, by patent of that province; and which, though prior to that of *Pennsylvania*, specifies, or assigns, no particular part of the said degree, for the boundary, as the *Pennsylvania* grant doth: which space, or degree, containing near seventy *English* miles in breadth, north and south, and in length westward, so far as *Maryland* extends, was no small matter to occasion a dispute.

Real extent and content of *Pennsylvania* at present.

But notwithstanding the clearness of the terms, by which the boundary between the said provinces is expressed in their respective charters, as above mentioned, yet this dispute was, at length, in the year 1732, finally settled chiefly in favor of *Maryland*; by fixing the said boundary between the two provinces, only fifteen miles due south of the most southerly part of *Philadelphia*, or in the parallel of 39 degrees, 44 minutes nearly, instead of 39 degrees, or at the beginning of the fortieth degree, as mentioned and intended by charter; which renders the real extent of *Pennsylvania*, north and south, only about 155 miles, instead of 208, and makes the square miles, in the province about 41,000, and the number of acres, 26,288,000 or near twenty-six millions.

In consequence of this charter, on the second day of April, next ensuing, the King issued a *declaration*.

tion to the inhabitants and planters of *Pennsylvania*, 1681. expressive of the grant, describing the bounds of the province, and enjoining them to yield all due obedience to the proprietary, &c. according to the powers granted by the said charter."*  The King issues a declaration.

William Penn, having obtained these proper requisites, immediately published such account of the province, as could then be given; with the royal charter, and other papers relative thereto, offering easy terms of sale for lands, viz. forty shillings sterling for one hundred acres, and one shilling per annum

W. Penn publishes an account of the province, &c.

* This declaration was as follows, viz.

" Charles R.

Whereas his majesty, in consideration of the great merit and faithful services of Sir *William Penn*, deceased, and for divers other good causes, him thereunto moving, hath been graciously pleased, by letters-patent, bearing date the fourth day of March, last past, to give and grant unto *William Penn*, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir *William Penn*, all that tract of land in *America*, called by the name of *Pennsylvania*, as the same is bounded, on the east, by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles distance northward of *New-castle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward; and, if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend, and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said three and fortieth degree; and the said province to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance, from *New-castle*, northward and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limit of longitude, above mentioned; together with all powers, preheminences and jurisdictions, necessary for the government of the said province, as by the said letters patent, reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

" His majesty doth, therefore, hereby publish and declare his royal will and pleasure, that all persons settled, or inhabiting within the limits of the said province, do yield all due obedience to the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, as absolute proprietaries and governors thereof, as also to the deputy, or deputies, agents or lieutenants, lawfully commissioned by him, or them, according to the powers and authorities, granted by the said letters patent, wherewith his Majesty expects and requires a ready compliance from all persons whom it may concern, as they tender his Majesty's displeasure.

" Given at the Court, at *White-hall*, the second day of April 1681, in the three and thirtieth year of our reign."

By his Majesty's special command,

CONWAY."

1681. annum forever;* and good conditions of settlement, to such as chose to be adventurers in the new country.

Th

* This *one shilling* for ever, is the original institution of the *Quit-rent* in the province; which is a compact as old, and to be held equally binding and inviolable, as that for the first purchase money:—Respectively, which, in the first, or early publications, concerning the province, I find the following observations then made, *viz.*

“The province is cast at a penny an acre; but he sets apart several parcels, which he calls shares; these he sells saving a *Quit-rent*, necessary to secure the title and tenure; that is, whereas five thousand acres (which make a share) come, at a penny an acre, to 20 pounds, 16 shillings and 8 pence, yearly. For one hundred pounds paid down, he sells that yearly rent for 18 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence; and reserves but fifty shillings; which may be reduced, as the purchaser pleaseth; but something must be reserved, for security of the title,” &c. Again—

“The shares I sell be certain, as to the number of acres; *that is to say*, every one shall contain five thousand acres; the price, one hundred pounds; and for the *Quit-rent*, one *English* shilling or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; which, such as will, may now, or hereafter, buy off, to an inconsiderable matter; but, as I hold by a small rent, of the King, so all must hold of me, by a small rent, for their own security,” &c.

In the disputes, which afterwards happened, between some of the Lieutenant Governors, and the Assemblies, these *quit-rents* notwithstanding appear to have been regarded, by the latter, as a grievance; and the application of them has been insinuated, as intended, at first, by the proprietor himself, for the support of the government, more especially that of the Lieutenant Governors: But as I find nothing authentic, on record, to countenance this insinuation, I shall here insert part of a reply of one of these governors to the Assembly, in 1708, on the subject, in the following words; which I have never seen confuted, *viz.*

“It is very reasonable to believe that the proprietary, having sold lands, to a great value, received considerable sums for them; and we find he reserved a *quit-rent* on them all; but, then, upon enquiry, I perceive, that, in consideration of the money, and those *quit-rents*, the proprietary, by firm, but common deeds of sale, granted the purchaser a free estate of large tracts of land, which they, or some in their behalf now enjoy; and, am told, that there is not, in any of these deeds, nor warranty, to defend the possessor against hostile, or invasive, force, nor one covenant, that mentions government, or the support of it, in any of them all; but that *forty shillings* down, and *one shilling* yearly, was the consideration paid, on the one hand, for an hundred acres of land granted on the other.

“I am sensible, gentlemen, I have been told of these *quit-rents* long before, to the great surprize of those, that heard it, and knew much more of the matter, than I could, at that time; but, upon a full scrutiny into the whole, by some whom it concerned, I perceived there could not be any trace found of any such compact, but in the pretended memory of one or three persons, who were noted to have stronger prejudices, than reason; and who, in these points, were not too much to be relied on; and was informed, that, for the many years before this government wanted supplies, this notion had never once been heard of, but was just then
first

This offer and invitation, to the people, he mixed, or qualified, with such Christian caution and advice, as indicated a real concern both for their temporal and eternal felicity, which he closed in these words:—

168r.

———" To conclude, I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid, mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking, of their near relations; for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us, and our posterity. Amen."

Part of William Penn's advice to the adventurer's, &c.

On publishing these proposals, a great number of purchasers soon appeared, in *London, Liverpool*, and especially about *Bristol*; among these were *James Claypole, Nicholas Moore, Philip Forde*, and others, who formed a company, called, *The free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania*. These last mentioned persons, with *William Sharloe, Edward Pierce, John Simcock, Thomas Bracy* and *Edward Brooks*, having purchased 20,000 acres of land, in trust for the said company, published articles of trade,

The free Society of traders, &c.

and perceived it to be greedily laid hold of by some, whose narrow minds made every pretence, to save money, very acceptable; and partly by others, to whom any kind of handle, to obstruct business, was no less agreeable; but was entirely exploded by such as were much better judges, of the better reasons, and better opportunities of knowing; so that, upon the whole, gentlemen, I find the proprietary, and those concerned in the account, that those *quit-rents*, and the government here, are no more to be feared, than his estate, in *Europe* is to that of *Great Britain*."—

1681. trade, and entered into divers branches themselves; which were soon improved upon by others.

CHAPTER II.

Conditions, or concessions published.—Sailing of the first ship for Pennsylvania.—Joseph Kirkbride &c.—The Proprietor's manner of treating the Indians.—His letter to them.—First frame of government and laws published.—Part of the preface to the same.—Purport of the frame, and one of the laws.—Duke of York's deed of re-lease to William Penn.—The territories obtained, &c.—Boundaries between the territories and Maryland.—

THE proprietary, having already made considerable sales of land, agreed with the adventurers and purchasers on the first deed of settlement, which in part, may be regarded as an essay towards constitution of government, according to the powers granted him by charter. It consists chiefly of certain rules of settlement, of treating the Indians with justice and friendship; and of keeping the peace, agreeable to the customs, usages and laws of England, to be observed on their arrival in the country, and there to be altered, on occasion. This compact is published, under the title of, "*Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania; and those, who are the adventurers and purchasers, in the same province, the 11th of July, 1681.*"* Which may be seen at length, in the appendix, No. I.

* One of the stipulations in this instrument shews the providence and knowledge of the proprietary, in a matter, whose continued neglect will doubtless, in future, be found more important to the country than has been imagined, viz.

Three ships sailed for *Pennsylvania* this year; 1681. two from *London*, and one from *Bristol*. The *John and Sarah*, from *London*, commanded by *Henry Smith*, is said to have been the first that arrived there; the *Amity*, *Richard Dimon*, master, from the same place, with passengers, was blown off, to the *West-Indies*; and did not arrive at the province, till the spring of the next year; the *Bristol Factor*, *Roger Drew*, commander, arrived at the place, where *Chester* now stands, on the 11th. of December; where the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore, at *Robert Wade's* landing, near the lower side of *Chester-creek*; and, the river having froze up that night, the passengers remained there all the winter.*

The first three ships sail for Pennsylvania, &c.

"That, in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oak and mulberries, for silk and shipping."

* Among the passengers, in these ships, were *John Otter*, *Nathaniel Allen* and *Edmund Lovett*, with their families; and several servants of Governor Penn.—*Joseph Kirkbride*, then a boy, being one of them, who afterwards became a person of importance, in the province. He is an instance, among many others that might be given, in the early time of this country, of advancement from low beginning to rank of eminence and esteem, through industry, with a virtuous and prudent conduct.—The difficulties, hardships and trials of many of the well disposed early settlers, however low in the world, rather visibly tended to their promotion, and, in some respects rendered them more useful and worthy members of society, in this new country; while others, even possessed of handsome patrimonies, at first, but more improvident, and less accustomed to encounter such difficulties, &c. more commonly went to ruin, or were reduced to indigence; besides, a dependance on such inheritances, even with otherwise prudent economy, in the early time of this country, where, when servants could scarcely be had, or kept, by any means, few worthy persons, who had not been used to labor, found, by sorrowful experience, did not answer here, as in *Europe*; so that for a series of years, those who came hither more wealthy, and had before been used a different manner of life, sometimes lost much of what they had possessed, and were reduced to greater straits and trials, than the more poor and laborious part of the settlers, who were generally more numerous, and got estates;—Hence it became noted for being a good poor man's country, &c.

This *Joseph Kirkbride*, above mentioned, was afterwards a preacher, among the *Quakers*; and, for many years in the magistracy, and frequently in the Assembly. He is said to have been an exemplary and zealous promoter of the religion of his profession; and a very serviceable man in divers respects and capacities. He lived in *Buck's county*; where he died in the First month, 1737.

1681. In one of these ships sailed *William Markham* a relation of the proprietary; whom he had appointed his Deputy Governor, and joined with him certain commissioners, to confer with the *Indians*, or *Aboriginies*, of the country, respecting their lands; and to confirm with them a league of peace. These Commissioners he enjoined to treat them with all possible candour, justice and humanity.

Import-
ance of
treating
the Indians
well.

To cultivate a right understanding with these natives, by a kind, gentle and just treatment and usage, was an affair of great importance to the future happiness and prosperity of the province; which good policy alone, even, from views of temporal interest, in such a case, would point out; yet notwithstanding this, the unhappy effects of a contrary conduct, or a neglect in this particular, had been frequently and long experienced, in some other provinces, to their great detriment, and ruinous consequences.

William
Penn's con-
duct respect-
ing the
Indians.

But *William Penn* appears to have acted from higher, and more disinterested motives, in reference to these people, than from those of mere temporal advantage only; which, it is manifest, he never received from the province, in any respect whatever, during a life of near thirty-seven years continuance after this time; but lost much by it. His ideas were more exalted, than to be confined within the narrow view of a temporary interest alone, and his conduct respecting these poor, ignorant and savage people, declared his regard for universal justice, and the natural rights of mankind; tending to impress on their minds, as was his concern for all others, a proper sense of eternal justice, and the happy effects of friendship, love and peace; than which nothing can have a stronger influence on the rational and considerate mind, to keep it within the due bounds of justice and truth. The first specimen, that I find, of his manner of treating

ing these people, appears in the following letter, 1681. which he sent them, on this occasion, by his deputy and commissioners; wherein, without perplexing and confusing their untutored ideas, with fine-spun and unintelligible notions, and forms of belief, so common to some ecclesiastics, he adapts his subject to their understandings, in the following plain and simple manner.

" London, the 18th. of the Eighth month 1681.

" My Friends,

" There is a great God and power, that hath made the world, and all things therein; to whom you and I, and all people owe their being, and well-being; and to whom you and I must one day give an account, for all, that we do in the world.—

His letter to them.

" This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the King of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it *with your love and consent*; that we may always live together, as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together, in the world? now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice, that have been too much exercised towards you, by the people of these parts of the world; who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you; which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man; as is well known in
my

1681. my own country. I have great love and regard towards you; and desire to win and gain your love and friendship, by a kind, just and peaceable li- and the people I send, are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves according and, if in any thing, any shall offend you, your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of men, on both sides; that, by no means you shall have just occasion of being offended against the

William Penn's letter to the Indians.

“ I shall shortly come to you myself; at what time, we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace; let me desire you be kind to them, and the people, and receive their presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you.”

“ I am your loving friend,

“ William Penn

1682. In the beginning of the year 1682, William Penn published his frame of government, and certain laws, agreed on, in England, by himself and purchasers under him, entitled, “ *The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania, America; together with certain laws, agreed on in England, by the Governor, and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be further explained, confirmed there, by the first Provincial Council, shall be held, if they see meet.*” Which frame, may be seen in the appendix, No. II.

William Penn publishes a frame of government and laws.

In the preface to this frame is exhibited a sketch of the author's sentiments on the nature of government, in general, his reflections on the different modes of it, and his inducement for forming his. It may serve to give some idea of the sentiment of the Quakers, in general, on this subject.

respecting which they have frequently been misrepresented; I shall, therefore, here give the following extract from it.—The author, after having quoted several parts of the sacred scriptures, relative to government, proceeds, in the following words:

1682.

—“ This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends; first, to terrify evil doers; secondly, to cherish those, that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption; and makes it as durable, in the world, as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself; a thing sacred, in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil; and is, as such, a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here; that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive, in its operation: but that is only to evil-doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society.

Part of the
preface to
his frame of
Govern-
ment.

“ They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government, than *correction*; which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much the greater part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen; and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments, they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from Heaven.”—

As to the modes, he further observes,—“ I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies, have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that shall serve all places alike;”—“ Any government,

Of modes
of Govern-
ment in ge-
neral.

1682. government is free to the people under it (what-
 ever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the
 people are a party to those laws; and more than
 this is tyranny, olygarchy, or confusion.”—

“ There is hardly one *frame* of government,
 in the world, so ill designed by its first founders,
 that, in good hands, would not do well enough;
 and history tells us, the best, in ill ones, can do
 nothing, that is great and good; Witness, the
Jerwish and *Roman* states. Governments, like
 clocks, go from the motion, men give them; and
 as governments are made and moved by men, so
 by them are they ruined too. Wherefore, go-
 vernments rather depend upon men, than men
 upon governments. Let men be good, and the
 government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will
 cure it. But, if men be bad, let government be
 never so good, they will endeavour to warp and
 spoil it to their turn.”—“ That, therefore, which
 makes a good government, must keep it, *viz.*
 Men of wisdom and virtue; qualities, that, be-
 cause they descend not with worldly inheritances,
 must be carefully propagated by a *virtuous educa-*
tion of youth; for which after ages will owe more
 to the care and prudence of *founders*, and the suc-
 cessive *Magistracy*, than to their parents, for their
 private patrimonies.”

Part of the
 preface to
 William
 Penn's
 frame of
 Govern-
 ment.

“ These considerations,” (several of which, for
 brevity, are here omitted) of the weight of go-
 vernment, and the nice and various opinions about
 it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing
 the ensuing *frame*, and *conditional laws*, foreseeing
 both the censures, they will meet with, from men
 of differing humours and engagements, and the
 occasion they may give of discourse beyond my
 design.”

“ But, next to the power of necessity (which
 is a sollicitor, that will take no denial) this induced
 me to a compliance, that we have, (with reve-

rence to *God*, and good conscience to *men*) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the *frame* and *laws* of this government, to the great end of government, *viz. To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power*; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the Magistrates honourable, for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion; and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness, is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the Magistracy: where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then, where both meet, the government is like to endure; which I humbly pray, and hope, *God* will please to make the lot of this of *Pennsylvania*. Amen.”

1682.

Reason for publishing his frame and laws.

The *frame* itself consisted of twenty-four articles; and the laws were forty. By the former the government was placed in the Governor and Freemen of the province, in the form of a provincial council, and General Assembly. By them conjunctively all laws were to be made, all officers appointed, and all public affairs transacted. Seventy-two was the number of the Council, to be chosen by the freemen; and though the Governor, or his deputy, was to be perpetual President, he had but a treble vote. One-third part of them was, at first, to be chosen for three years, one-third for two years, and one-third for one year; in such manner, that there might be an annual succession of twenty-four new members, each to continue three years, and no longer.—The General Assembly was, the first year, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never to exceed five hundred. And this charter, or form of government, was not to be altered, changed, or diminished, in any part, or clause of it, without consent of the Governor, his heirs, or assigns,

Purport of the frame of government.

1682. and six parts of seven of the freemen, in Provincial Council and Assembly. And to the power only was the alteration of the laws in subject: these laws were of the nature of an original compact between the proprietary and freemen; and, as such, were reciprocally received and executed: one of them was,

“ That all persons living in this province, confess and acknowledge the one Almighty Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in society, shall, in no ways, be molested, or punished, for their religious persuasion, or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry forever.”

One of
the first
laws.

Moreover, the proprietary, to prevent all future claim, or, even, pretence of claim, that might be made, of the province by the Duke of York, his heirs, obtained of the said Duke his deed of release for the same, dated the 21st. of August 1682.*

William Penn obtains the Duke of York's release.

Bel

* The release of the Duke of York to William Penn was expressed as follows—

“ This indenture, made the one and twentieth day of August, in the fourth and thirtieth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Charles the second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, defender of the faith, &c. annoque Domini 1682, between the most illustrious Prince, his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, Albany, Earl of Ulster, &c. of the one part, and William Penn, son and heir of Sir William Penn, Knight, deceased, of the other. Whereas, his said Royal Highness, being willing and desirous that a tract of land, called Pennsylvania, herein after mentioned, should be granted and assured unto the said William Penn, and his heirs, for that purpose, having signified and declared his assent thereto, by right honourable, the lords of the committee of plantations; His Majesty, by his letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date the 4th. day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of His Majesty, for the consideration therein mentioned, did grant unto the said William Penn, and his heirs, all that tract, or part of land in America, with islands therein contained, and thereunto belonging, as the same is better and described in and by the said letters patent, and therein called Pennsylvania, together with several royalties, franchises, jurisdictions and privileges, therein contained. And, whereas, in consideration of five

Besides, as an additional territory to the province, he also, this year, 1682, procured of the duke of *York*, his right, title and interest, in that tract of land, since called the *The three lower counties on Delaware*, extending from the fourth boundary of the province, and situated on the western side of the said river and bay of *Delaware*, to cape *Hinlopen*, beyond, or south of *Lewistown*; which, by the Duke were made over to *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of *Feoffment*, dated, August 24th. 1682. The first deed was for the town of *New-Castle*, alias *Delaware* town, and a district of twelve miles round it, as far as the river *Delaware*; in the second, of the same date, was comprehended that tract of land, from twelve

1682.
William Penn procures of the Duke of York the territories, &c.

lings, and for the considerations herein after mentioned, his said Royal Highness is willing and pleased to confirm and make any further assurance of the said tract of land and premises unto the said *William Penn*, and his heirs."

"Now, therefore, this indenture witnesseth, that his said Royal Highness, out of a special regard to the memory, and many faithful and eminent services heretofore performed, by the said Sir *William Penn*, to his said Majesty and Royal Highness, and for the better encouraging him, the said *William Penn*, to proceed in the cultivating and improving the said tract of ground, and islands therein, and thereunto belonging, and reducing the savage and barbarous natives thereof to civility, and for the good will, which his said Royal Highness hath and beareth to the said *William Penn*, and for other good causes and considerations, hath remised, released, and for ever quit claim, and by these presents, doth, for him and his heirs, remise, release, and for ever quit claim, unto the said *William Penn*, (in his peaceable possession now being) his heirs and assigns, all the estate, right, title, interest, rents, services, duties, payments, property, claim and demand whatsoever, of his said Royal Highness, of, in, or to, or out of the said tract of land, and all singular other, the lands, islands, tenements, hereditaments, and other things comprised in the said recited letters patent, and within the bounds and limits therein mentioned, to have and to hold the said tract of land, rents, services, hereditaments and premises, unto the said *William Penn*, and his heirs, to the only use and benefit of the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns for ever. IN WITNESS whereof his Royal Highness hath to these presents set his hand and seal, the day and year first above written."

"JAMES." (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered }
in the presence of }
JOHN WERDEN.
GEORGE MAN.



1682. twelve miles south of *New-Castle* to the *Hoarkills* otherwise called *Cape-Hinlopen*, divided into two counties, *Kent* and *Sussex*; which, with *New-Castle* district, were commonly called, *the territories of Pennsylvania*; or *the three lower counties upon Delaware*.*

Of the
three lower
counties,
&c.

Of the
boundary
between
the territo-
ries and
Maryland,
&c.

The determining and fixing the precise boundary between this territory and *Maryland*, as well as that between the respective provinces, becoming afterwards a subject of dispute between *William Penn* and the Lord *Baltimore*, will hereafter more fully appear, in the course of this history. For thought

* See the votes of the house of Representatives of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1

William Penn, in a letter to some of his friends, in *Pennsylvania*, dated, "England, 10th. Fourth month 1691," (a time when there was some disagreement in these counties, respecting his title) says,—*"I would also you should know, I have a patent of the lower counties, some years since that when there is occasion for it, you may alledge so, but not otherwise."*

These territories were a part of the country, called *New Netherlands* when in possession of the Dutch, and included in the Duke of *York*'s second patent for that country, after its surrender by treaty of peace to the English, in 1674, which extended westward of *Delaware river*. See Introduction, page 121 to 136; likewise *William Penn*'s answer to Lord *Baltimore*'s demand, further on in this history, &c.

In the preamble to the *act of union* of the three lower counties with the province, passed at *Chester*, in *Pennsylvania*, on the 6th. of the Tenth month 1682, it is thus expressed, *viz.*

—*"And it having also favourably pleased James, Duke of York, Earl of Ulster, &c. to release his right and claim to all and every part thereof (of the province) unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns: whereby the said William Penn is become the undoubted and rightful Proprietary of the province of Pennsylvania; and is hereby freely and fully so recognised and acknowledged. And as a beneficial and requisite addition to the territory of the said Proprietary and Governor, hath also pleased the said James, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, &c. for divers good considerations, to grant unto the said William Penn, and his heirs and assigns, all that tract of land, from twelve miles northward of New-Castle, on the river Delaware, down to the fourth cape, commonly called Cape Hinlopen, and by the Proprietary and Governor, now called Cape James, lying on the west side of said river and bay, and formerly possessed by the Dutch, and bought by them of the natives, and first surrendered upon articles of peace to the King's Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Nicolls, and a second time, to Sir Edmund Andross, Lieutenant Governor to the said Duke; and hath been by him quietly possessed and enjoyed; as also the said river of Delaware and the thereof, and all islands therein, lately cast into three counties, called New-Castle, Jones's and Worekills, alias, Deal, together with all rights, powers and jurisdictions thereunto belonging; as by the two deeds of Feoffment, bearing date the 24th. of the Sixth month, called August, 1682, doth more at large appear."*

Pennsylvania votes of Assembly, &c. Vol. 1

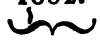
though prior to making out the grant of both the province and territory, the Lord *Baltimore* was duly informed, fully heard, and all his objections answered, on the subject, before the lords of trade and plantations; where the precise southern boundary of *Pennsylvania*, as expressed in the charter, must necessarily have been mentioned to him, as appears by the minutes of the committee of the said board; yet he afterwards claimed not only the whole territory of the *lower counties*, but also one degree of north latitude included in the grant of *Pennsylvania*, as coming within his patent. 1682.

The boundary and extent of the former was determined by an order of council, the King being present, in November, 1685; but it was long before it was put in execution, said to be occasioned principally by the delays and obstructions of the Lord *Baltimore*. But the line, or boundary between the two provinces doth not appear to have been precisely and finally fixed during the life of *William Penn*; or, till the year 1732; which will be mentioned in its proper place.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

William Penn sails for Pennsylvania.—Writes a valedictory epistle to his friends in England.—Arrives in the Delaware.—His reception in the country.—Holds an Assembly at Upland, (Chester).—Passes an act of union between the province and territory.—Naturalizes the foreigners.—Passes the laws agreed on in England, in form.—Preamble to said laws, with their titles.—He visits New York and Maryland; and treats with the Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundaries.—Extract from two of his letters, respecting his employment in the country, and in vindication of himself from some undue reflections.—The Proprietor purchases lands of the Indians, and treats them with great justice and kindness.—The happy consequence with instances of their affectionate remembrance William Penn.

1682.  WILLIAM PENN had, for a considerable time past, been making preparation for his voyage to America; which being, at last, accomplished, the Sixth month (August) this year, 1682, accompanied by a number of his friends, he went on board the ship, *Welcome*, of 300 tons burden, *Robert Greenaway*, commander; and on the 30th. of the same month, he writ, from the *Downs*, a valedictory epistle to England, containing “*A salutation to faithful friends.*”*

William Penn takes shipping for America.

TI

* This epistle is extant in print, though it doth not appear in the collection of *William Penn's* works, published in two folio volumes. The whole title of it, at length, is, “An epistle, containing a *salutation*

The number of passengers, in this ship, was 1682. about one hundred, mostly *Quakers*; the major part of them from *Suffex*, the Proprietary's place of residence. In their passage, many of them were taken sick of the *small pox*; and about thirty of their number died. In this trying situation, the acceptable company of *William Penn* is said to have been of singular advantage to them, and his kind advice and assistance of great service, during their passage; so that, in the main, they had a prosperous voyage; and, in little more than six weeks, came in sight of the *American* coast, supposed to be about *Egg-Harbour*, in *New-Jersey*.

Many of the passengers die of the small pox, &c.

In passing up the *Delaware*, the inhabitants, consisting of *English*, *Dutch* and *Swedes*, indiscriminately met the Proprietary, with demonstrations of joy. He landed at *New-Castle*, on the 24th. of October; and next day had the people summoned to the Court-house; where, after possession of the country was legally given him, he made a speech to the old Magistrates, and the people, signifying to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly, which he came to establish; assuring them of their spiritual and temporal rights; liberty of conscience, and civil freedoms; and, recommending them to live in sobriety and peace, he renewed the magistrates commissions.*

William Penn arrives at New-castle October 24th. 1682.

After

all faithful friends; a reproof to the unfaithful; and a visitation to the enquiring, in a solemn farewell to them all, in the land of my nativity."—It consists principally of religious advice and admonition to his friends, the *Quakers*, according to the different parts of the title.

Besides this epistle, and prior to his going on board, he also writ an affectionate letter of advice to his wife and children, dated, *Wormingburgh* 4th. Sixth month, 1682.—It contains most excellent and pathetic directions to them, in their distinct capacities, for their civil, moral and religious conduct and government through life, in case he should never see them again.—It is published in the edition of his select works, in one folio volume.

* To form some idea of the proportion of the different sorts of people, on the west side of *Delaware*, about this time, or prior to *William Penn's* arrival, on the lands, granted him, it may be noted, that the *Dutch* then had

1682. After this he proceeded to *Upland*, now called *Chester*; where, on the fourth day of the Tenth month, (about three months after his sailing from *England*) he called an Assembly. It consisted of equal numbers of members for the province, and the three lower counties, called the *Territories*; that is, for both of them, so many of the free-men as thought proper to appear, according to the 16th. article of the frame of government.

He calls
and meets
the first
Assembly,
at Chester,
&c.

This Assembly chose *Nicholas Moore*, who was president of the *Free society of traders*, for their chair-man, or *speaker*; and received as ample satisfaction from the Proprietary, as the inhabitants of *New-castle* had done; for which they returned him their grateful acknowledgments: The *Swedes* for themselves, deputed *Lacy Cock* to acquaint him, "That they would love, serve and obey him with all they had;" declaring, "that it was the best day they ever saw."

Proceed-
ings of the
first Assem-
bly.

At this Assembly an *act of union* was passed, annexing the *three lower counties* to the province, in legislation, on the 7th. day of December, 1682; likewise an *act of settlement*, in reference to the *frame of government* which, with some alterations, was thereby declared to be accepted and confirmed.

The *Dutch*, *Swedes*, and other *foreigners* were then naturalized: all the laws, agreed on in *England*, with some small alterations, were passed in form.*

The

a meeting place, for religious worship, at *New-castle*; the *Swedes*, three; one at *Christeen*, one at *Tenecum*, and one at *Wicocoa*, (now in the suburbs of *Philadelphia*.) The *Quakers*, as before observed, in the introduction, had three, viz. one at *Upland*, or *Chester*, one at *Shackamaxon*, or about where *Kensington* now stands, in the vicinity of *Philadelphia*, and one near the lower falls of *Delaware*.

* The preamble to these laws, with the titles, or heads, of them, here follow:

"The great law: or, the body of laws of the province of *Pennsylvania* and *territories* thereunto belonging, passed at an Assembly, held at *Chester*, alias, *Upland*, the seventh day of the Tenth month, called December, 1682.

"Whereas,

The meeting continued only three days; and notwithstanding the great variety of dispositions, rawness and inexperience of this Assembly, in affairs of this kind, yet a very remarkable candour and harmony prevailed among them.

The

" Whereas, the glory of God Almighty, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government; and, therefore government itself is a venerable ordinance of God; and for as much as it is principally desired and intended by the Proprietary and Governor, and freemen, of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws, as shall best preserve true christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, *Cæsar*, his due, and the people, their due, from tyranny and oppression, on the one side, and insolence and licentiousness, on the other; so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid, for the present and future happiness of both the Governor, and the people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity: *Be it enacted by William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province, and the counties aforesaid, in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs be the laws of *Pennsylvania* and territories thereof:—

- 1 Concerning liberty of conscience.
- 2 Concerning qualifications of officers, &c.
- 3 Against swearing by God, Christ, or Jesus.
- 4 Against swearing by any other thing or name.
- 5 Against speaking profanely of God, Christ, Spirit or Scripture.
- 6 Against cursing.
- 7 Against defiling the marriage bed.
- 8 Against incest.
- 9 Against sodomy and bestiality.
- 10 Against rape, or ravishment.
- 11 Against bigamy.
- 12 Against drunkenness.
- 13 Against suffering drunkenness.
- 14 Against healths drinking.
- 15 Against selling, or exchanging, of rum, brandy, or other strong liquors to the Indians.
- 16 Against wilful firing of houses.
- 17 Against breaking into, or taking any thing out of houses.
- 18 Lands and goods of thieves and felons, &c. liable, &c.
- 19 Against forceable entry.
- 20 Against unlawful assemblies and riots.
- 21 Against assaulting or menacing of parents.
- 22 Against assaulting or menacing, of magistrates.
- 23 Against assaulting or menacing, of masters.
- 24 Against assault and battery.
- 25 Against duels.
- 26 Against riotous sports and practices, as plays, &c.
- 27 Against playing at cards, dice, lotteries, &c.
- 28 Against sedition.
- 29 Against speaking slightly, or abusing of magistrates or officers.
- 30 Against reporters, defamers, and spreaders of false news.
- 31 Against

1681.

The proprietary, prior to his meeting this Assembly, appears to have paid a visit to *New-York*; and immediately after the adjournment of it, he went to *Maryland*; where he was kindly received by the Lord *Baltimore*, and the principal persons of that colony. There the two proprietaries held a conference respecting the fixing and settling the boundaries between the two provinces: but the severity of the season coming on, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the affair, after two days spent on the occasion, they appointed to meet again in the spring, and *William Penn* took his leave and departed, the Lord *Baltimore* accompanying him several miles, to the house of one

William Penn visits New York, Maryland, &c.

William Penn treats with Lord Baltimore about the boundary, &c.

- 31 Against clamorous persons, scolders and railers.
- 32 Provision for the poor.
- 33 Prices of beer and ale.
- 34 Measures and weights.
- 35 Names of days and months.
- 36 Witnesses lying.
- 37 Pleadings, processes and records, to be in *English*.
- 38 Trials in civil and criminal cases.
- 39 Fees and salaries, bribery and extortion.
- 40 Fines to be moderate, &c.
- 41 Numerous suits avoidable.
- 42 Arrest of a person departing the province, how.
- 43 Promises, bargains and agreements.
- 44 Charters, gifts, grants, conveyances, bills, bonds and specialties, *deed* &c. how soon to be recorded.
- 45 What wills shall convey lands, as well as chattels. See appendix to the Pennsylvania laws.
- 46 Wills of *non compos mentis* void.
- 47 Registry for wills, &c.
- 48 Registry for servants, &c.
- 49 Factors, and their employ.
- 50 Against defacers, corrupters and embezzlers, of charters, *conveyances* and records, &c.
- 51 How lands and goods shall pay debts. See appendix to the Pennsylvania laws.
- 52 What prisoners bailable.
- 53 Jails and jailers.
- 54 Prisons to be work-houses.
- 55 Wrongful imprisonment.
- 56 Where the penalty is either a sum of money or imprisonment, the magistrate shall inflict which he will.
- 57 Freemen, who.
- 58 Elections.
- 59 No money or goods, by way of tax, custom or contribution, *tax* raised or paid, but by law.
- 60 Laws shall be printed and taught in schools.
- 61 All other things, not provided for herein, are referred to the Governor and freemen from time to time.

William Richardson; from whence he proceeded two miles further, to a religious meeting with his friends, the *Quakers*, at the house of *Thoburn Hooker*; and from thence to *Choctank*, on the eastern side of *Chesapeake-bay*; where was an appointing of persons of divers ranks and qualities. Thus proceeded *William Penn*, with much fatigue, difficulty and expence, to settle the province, to civilize the government, and cultivate a good understanding with his neighbours; though not without enemies and oppositions of different kinds, which will hereafter more fully appear; and that, first, from some, who had been his friends; as may be seen by the following extract from the stated account of his life, about this time, viz.—for was the advancement of himself, or family, or worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim, in the administration

1682.

He has various enemies, &c.

Extract from his life, printed with his works.

By a letter of *William Penn*, dated, *Chester on Delaware*, 29th. of 6th month, 1682, his activity, about this time, further appears:—in which the following is an extract:

I bless the Lord, I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough; having much to do, to please all; and yet to an eye to those, that are not here to please themselves.

I have been also at *New York*, *Long Island*, *East Jersey* and *Maryland* in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord, &c.

I am now casting the country into townships, for large lots of land were held an assembly; in which many good laws are passed; we could easily stay till the spring for a government. I have annexed the *four Counties* (lately obtained) to the province; and passed a general regulation for strangers; which hath much pleased the people.—As toward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and the springs plentiful, and provision good, and easy to come at; an admirable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an *Adam*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* would be well contented with; and service for God; for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how quiet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome situations, hurries and perplexities of *woful Europe*; and God will bless her; the day hastens upon her." &c.

Blessed be the Lord, that of twenty-three ships none miscarried; two or three had the *small-pox*; else healthy and swift passages; many such as have not been known; some but twenty-eight days, for longer than six weeks: Blessed be God for it; who is good to his fellows us with his abundant kindness: my soul fervently thanks that in his heavenly guiding wisdom, we may be kept; that we serve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace." &c.

Many women, in divers of the ships, brought to bed; they and their children do well."

1682. administration of government; but, in the greater honor of his public station, he still retained the meekness and humility of a private Christian; the sincerity of his intentions, and with what zeal and ardour he pursued a general good, are best expressed by his own words, in a letter written in *Pennsylvania*, the latter part of this year, (1682) to a person, who had unduly reflected on him," *vi*

Part of a
letter of
William
Penn from
Chester in
Pennsyl-
vania.

—" I could speak largely of God's dealing with me, in getting this thing; what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me, in paying. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost;—through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane: my God hath given it me, in the face of the world; and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings: and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God hath given me; and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title, or patent, that hath clothed me in this place.—

" Keep thy place; I am in mine; I have served the God of the whole earth, since I have been here; it; nor am I fitting down in a greatness, that I have denied.—I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not fit to be enriched by this greatness: costs in getting, settling, transportation and maintenance, now in public manner, at my own charge, duly considered, to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children."

" Well,—the Lord is God of righteous judgment: had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home; where the difference between what I was here, and was offered, and could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the place are:—No, I came for the *Lord's sake*, and there for

fore have I stood to this day, well and diligent, and successful, *blessed be his power*.—"Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man; I have many witnesses."—"To conclude, it is now in friends hands; through my travail, faith and patience it came."—"If friends here keep to God, in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their foot-stool: if not their heirs and my heirs too, will lose all; and desolation will follow:—but blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us, a *King* and *Counsellor* for ever."

"Thy ancient, though grieved, friend,

WILLIAM PENN."

"*Chester, 5th. of the Twelfth month, 1682.*"

The Proprietary, being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the Natives; whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness, in all his dealings and communications with them; ever giving them full satisfaction for all their lands &c. and the best advice for their real happiness; of which their future conduct shewed they were very sensible; and the country afterwards reaped the benefit of it.*

It

* Hence one of the early settlers, Thomas Makin, of Philadelphia, after having lived in the country more than forty years, in a copy of Latin verses, entitled, *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae*, dated in 1729, and inscribed to James Logan, has the following lines.

"Non regio hæc Ipso armis subigendo tenetur,
Sed certa emptori conditione data est.
Vivitur hic igitur tuto sine militis usu;
Et sibi securus propria quisque tenet.
Hic locus est multis felix, ubi sedibus aptis,

1682. It was at this time, (1682) when he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the *Indians*, which ever afterwards continued between them; and for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted; or, so long as the *Quakers*, to whom, even, long after his death, they always continued to shew the greatest regard, retained power, in the government, sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent, or redress, such misunderstandings and grievances, as occasionally happened between them, and any of the inhabitants of the province, &c. A firm peace was, therefore, now reciprocally concluded between *William Penn* and the *Indians*; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a *chain of friendship* and covenant indelible, never to be broken, so long as the sun and moon endure.

W. Penn first personally enters into friendship with the *Indians*, &c.

Of this kind of conference he afterwards had many others, and some on a religious account, during both times of his residence in the country. His conduct, in general, to these people, was so engaging, his justice, in particular, so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice, which he gave them, were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will

Their great regard for W. Penn, &c.

Sors optata dedit non sine pace frui.
Dira sed infelix, heu! bella *Nov' Anglia* sensit;
Indis quæ semper gens male—fida fuit."

On just and fairest terms the land is gain'd;
No force of arms has any right obtain'd.
'Tis here, without the use of arms, alone,
The blest inhabitant enjoys his own:
Here many, to their wish, in peace enjoy
Their happy lots; and nothing doth annoy.
But sad *New England's* different conduct show'd.
What dire effects from injur'd *Indians* flow'd.

will scarcely ever be effaced, while they continue
people.*

* At a treaty, held with the *Six Nations*, at *Philadelphia*, in July, 1742, in Governor *Thomas's* administration, *Canassatego*, chief of the *Onondagoes*, said,

—“ We are all very sensible of the kind regard, which that good man, *William Penn*, had for all the *Indians*,” &c.

At this treaty, these *Indians* thus expressed themselves, respecting *James Logan*, which further shews the sense and gratitude of that people when they are well treated, &c.

“ *Canassatego* then spoke to the Governor and council:”

“ *Bretbren*,

“ We called at our old friend *James Logan's*, in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him *hid in the bushes*, and retired through intimacies, from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more, on our account, at your councils. We hope, notwithstanding his age, and the effects of a fit of sickness, which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time, to assist this province with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the *Indians*. And we desire, when his soul goes to God, you may chuse in his room, just such another person, of the same prudence and ability, in counselling; and of the same tender disposition and affection for the *Indians*.”—“ In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good, as to leave his country house, and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the council, *We present him with this bundle of Skins*.

After the Governor had concluded, *James Logan* replied to that part of *Canassatego's* speech which related to him, and said—

“ That, not only upon the account of his lameness, (of which the *Indians* themselves were witnesses) but on account of another indisposition, which, about three years since, had laid him under an incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual freedom, he had been obliged to retire, in the country.”

“ But that our first proprietor, the honorable *William Penn*, who had ever been a father, and true friend to all the *Indians*, having above forty years since recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination, as well as from that strict charge, endeavoured to convince all the *Indians*, that he was their true friend; and was now well pleased, that after a tract of so many years, they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their present and heartily joined with them in their desires, that the government may always be furnished with persons of equally good inclinations, and not only with such, but also with better abilities, to serve them.

At a council, held with the *Seneca* and other *Indians*, in *Philadelphia*, in July 1749, in the administration of *James Hamilton*, &c.

Ogaustash, in part of his speech, thus expresses himself:

“ We recommend it to the Governor, to tread in the steps of those wise people, who have held the reins of government before him, in being good and kind to the *Indians*. Do, brother, make it your study to consult the interest of our nations; as you have so large an authority, you can do us much good, or harm; we would, therefore, engage your influence.”

1682.

Instances
of the Indi-
ans long re-
taining
great re-
spect for
W. Penn.

That they retain these things, and hand them by tradition, from father to son, many instances have since more particularly shewn; of which was in 1721, several years after the death of *William Penn*; in a conference between Governor *Keith* and the *Five Nations*, held at *Conestogo, Pennsylvania*. Their Chief Speaker, with a countenance, which shewed great respect, said—

“ *They should never forget the council, that William Penn gave them; and that though they could write, as the English did, yet they could keep, in memory, what was said in their councils.* ”

At the treaty renewed, in the year following *Albany*, they mentioned the name of *William Penn* with great affection, calling him, a good man. And, as their highest compliment to Governor *Keith*, they used this expression, “ *we esteem love you as if you were William Penn himself: tell him, “ Brother Onas,”* (which in their language signifies, a *Pen*, and by which name they call Governors of *Pennsylvania* ever since it was settled by *William Penn*) “ *we are glad to hear for*

influence and affections for us; that the same harmony, and mutual affections may subsist during your government, which so happily subsisted in former times, nay, from the first settlement of this province, by your good friend, the great *William Penn*,” &c.

At a treaty held at *Easton*, in *Pennsylvania*, with the *Indians*, in Governor *Morris*’s administration, *Teedyuscung*, the *Delaware*, spoke as follows:

“ *Brother Onas, and the people of Pennsylvania,*

“ *We rejoice to hear from you, that you are willing to renew our old good understanding, and that you call to mind the first treaties of friendship, made by Onas, our great friend, deceased, with our forefathers when himself and his people first came over here.* ”

“ *We take hold of these treaties with both our hands; and desire you will do the same; that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these treaties with all our hearts. We beseech you; We on our side, will certainly do it.* ”

—Again, on concluding a peace, in July, the same year, *Teedyuscung* said,—

“ *I wish the same good spirit, that possessed the good old man, William Penn, who was a friend to the Indians, may inspire the people of this province, at this time,* ” &c.

Extracts from the Indian

mer treaties, which we have made with *William*
m, repeated to us again."——

Upon the Governor's replying, "That he de-
ed this visit, and the covenant *chain*, which is
reby brightened, may be recorded in everlasting
membrance, to be sent down to your and our
ildren, to last as long as the mountains and ri-
rs, and while the sun and moon endure:"——
they answered,—"We desire that peace and tran-
quillity, which is now established between us, may
as clear as the sun, shining in its lustre, with-
out any cloud or darkness; and that the same may
continue forever."——

These instances, among many others, that may
be given, together with the consequent correspond-
ing behaviour of these people, may shew what a
grateful remembrance they retained of *William*
m's fair and candid conduct towards them; and
that an happy influence a just and friendly treat-
ment has on, even, savage minds.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Arrivals of colonists in the first year, and at times, with their general character.—Some of the settlements, and rapid improvements, with the names and memorials of divers of them, &c.—Difficulties and hardships of the first and early settlers; they prosper.—Part of the planter's speech to neighbours and countrymen.—Richard Townshend's testimony, respecting the prosperity of Pennsylvania from the first settlement of it, for above forty years.

Number
of arrivals
in the first
year, &c.

WITHIN the space of the first year, after proper requisites for a regular settlement were obtained, between twenty and thirty sail of ships with passengers, arrived in the province, including those which came before, and about the same time with the Proprietary. The settlers amounted to such a large number, that the parts near *laware* were peopled in a very rapid manner, extending from about the falls of *Trenton*, down to *Chesapeake* near fifty miles, on the river; besides the settlements in the *lower counties*, which, at the same time, were very considerable: for the first settlements, for the most part, were made near the river, according to the different shares of land which were respectively allotted for each settler, as may be seen in an old map of the first settlements of the province.*

Of the
first and
early colo-
nists of
Pennsyl-
vania.

As the first colonists, and those who followed for a number of years afterwards, were more generally of the religious people called *Quakers*

* This is said to have been the first, or original map of the part of the province and of the plan of the city; by Thomas Holme. It was dedicated to William Penn, and sold by Robert Green and Thornton in London;—who say, in the said map, that it was begun by the Proprietary, anno 1681;—It is yet extant, &c.

and in their native country had suffered much on 1682.
 account of their religion, both in person and property, through the persecuting bigotry of those times; so, on their arrival, their great and primary concern is said to have been the continuance and support of their religious public worship, in every part of the country, where they made settlements, in such manner as their situation and circumstances then permitted; and though the generality of them were not ranked among the rich and great, yet many had valuable estates, were of good families and education; and mostly sober, industrious and substantial people, of low, or moderate fortunes, but of universal good reputation and character.*

They appear, in general, to have been provident, and cautious, in their removal; so that rashness and inconsideration, so common in new attempts

Of the first
 and early
 Colonists of
 Pennsylvania.

* In the records of this people, in early times, among other things, I find the following anecdotes, respecting the original and regular establishment of some of their first religious meetings in these parts, with the names of some of the principal settlers among them, of that society, viz.

The first most considerable English settlement, in Pennsylvania proper, is said to have been near the lower falls of the river Delaware, in Bucks county; where the Quakers had a regular and established meeting, for religious worship, before the country bore the name of Pennsylvania: some of the inhabitants there having settled by virtue of patents, from Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New-York.

Among the names of the inhabitants here, either at this time, or soon after, appear to be, William Yardly, James Harrison, Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, William Dark, Lyonell Britain, William Beaks, &c. And soon afterwards there, and near Nesbaming creek, Richard Hough, Henry Baker, Nicholas Walne, John Otter, Robert Hall;—And, in Wright's town, John Chapman, and James Ratcliff, a noted preacher in the society, &c.

In the year 1683, settled near the said falls, Thomas Janny who, with his family, and others, at that time, arrived from Cheshire, in England. He is said to have been a very serviceable person in the country, and among his neighbours, in divers respects.

After twelve years residence here, he revisited his native country, on a religious account, being a preacher among the Quakers, where he died, aged 63, and a preacher, in that society, 41 years; being a man of good reputation, character and example.

Next Byberry, Postqueson, &c. settled Richard Waln, John Hart, Richard Worrall, &c.

1682. tempts of this kind, was not for the most part much observable among them, in this important undertaking. Many of them brought fervor

Note. The *Quakers* had meetings for religious worship, and for economy of their society so early as the fore part of the year 1681 the house of *Thomas Fairlamb*, at *Shakamaxon*, near, or about the place where *Kensington* now stands, nigh *Philadelphia*; and in the next following year, 1682, at the place itself, where the city is since built, boarded meeting-house erected there for that purpose.

Their brick meeting-house, in the city, at or near the center, was built in

That, on the bank, in Front-street, in

Their great meeting-house, in High-street, in

That, on the hill, in Pine-street, in

And the present meeting-house, in High-street, in

The number of marriages of the people called *Quakers*, in *Philadelphia*, alone, during the first thirty-two years of the province, or between years 1682 and 1714, inclusive, was about 314. M. S.

In the year 1682, they had a religious meeting regularly fixed at *Da*. Among the first and early settlers of the society, at or near this place are mentioned, John Blunston, Michael Blunston, George Wood, hua Fearn, Henry Gibbons, Samuel Sellers, Richard Bonfall, Edm Cartlidge, Thomas Hood, John Bartram, Robert Naylor and A Rhoads;—who all came from *Darbyshire*, in *England*.

Thomas Worth, Samuel Bradshaw, John Hallowell, William W Thomas Bradshaw, Robert Scothorn and Richard Parker, all from *L* *inghamshire*.

John Hood, William Garret, Robert Cliffe, William Smith, J Smith and Thomas Smith, from *Leicestershire*.

At *Chester*, the *Quakers* had meetings for divine worship regular from the year 1675; in which year *Robert Wade*, and divers others c over; and at whose house the first meeting of record, in this place, held, on the tenth of the eleventh month, 1681.

Among the eminent persons of this society, who settled in and this place, in these early times, were, Thomas Vernon, John Bown Thomas Minshall, Bartholomew Coppock, John Edge, &c.—*De* Jones, at *Goshen*.—John Gibbons, Thomas Stanfield, John Cadwalla James Thomas;—William Woodmanfon, at *Harold*.—John Simcock Ridley; Nicholas Newlin, &c.

In the year 1682, among the *Quakers*, who settled on the east side *Brandywine* creek, in *New-castle* county, were Valentine Hollingswo William Stockdale, Thomas Conoway, Adam Sharpley, Morgan I witt, Valentine Morgan, Cornelius Empson.—And about *Center* on ship, George Harlam, Thomas Hollingsworth, Alphonfus Kirk, Will Gregg, &c.

Of those who first settled in, and about *New-castle*, were John Has John Richardson, Edward Blake, George Hogg, Benjamin Swett, &

Also William Brown, from *Northamptonshire* in *England*, who set in early time, about *Nottingham*, is noted among the *Quakers*, for kind benevolence and hospitality; and as exhibiting a pattern of a tr Christian life and practice;—He lived upwards of ninety years, had m descendants, and died in 1746.

and had provided themselves with food and raiment, for such a space of time, after their arrival, as, it might be reasonably supposed their care and industry would afterwards procure necessary subsistence in the province: besides, sufficient quantities of household furniture, utensils, implements and tools, for divers of the first most useful, and necessary trades and occupations were previously provided and brought by not a few of them. 1682.

The nature of both their religious and civil system and conduct, in general, was so reasonable, generous and inviting that as they became known, and the fame thereof spread abroad, great numbers of people were induced to flock to the province, from different parts of *Europe*; and, in such a rapid manner, to colonize and improve it, as had scarcely ever been paralleled in any other country, at so great a distance from the parent states, or civilized part of the world.

In this, and the two next succeeding years, arrived ships, with passengers or settlers, from *London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c.* to the number of about fifty sail.* Number of arrivals, &c.

Among those from *Germany*, were some *Friends*, or *Quakers*, from *Krisheim* or *Cresheim*, a town not far from *Worms*, in the *Palatinate*. They had been early convinced of the religious principles of the *Quakers*, by the preaching of *William Ames*, an *Englishman*: for which they had bore a public testimony there, till the present time; when they all removed First settlement of German-town by some Quakers from Germany, &c.

* Hence Thomas Makin before mentioned, says—

- " Hujus fama loci multos aliunde vocavit
- " Libertas quibus est dulcis amorque lucri
- " Huc alienigenæ veniunt, venientque quotannis
- " Omnibus usque adeo libera terra placet."—&c.

Its fame to distant countries far has spread
And some for peace, and some for profit, led,
Born in remotest climes, to settle here,
They leave their native soil, and all that's dear;
And still will flock from far, here to be free;
Such powerful charms has lovely Liberty.—&c.

1682. removed to *Pennsylvania*, and settled about six or seven miles distant from *Philadelphia*, at a place which they called *German-town*.

“ This removal,” (says *Seawell*, in his history of the *Quakers*) “ did not seem to be without a singular direction of *Providence*: for not long after a war ensued in *Germany*, where the *Palatinate* was altogether laid waste by the *French*; and thousands of families were bereft of their possessions, and reduced to poverty.”*

First arrival of the Welsh, &c.

Among those adventurers and settlers, who arrived about this time, were also many from *Wales*, of those who are called *Ancient Britons*, and mostly *Quakers*; divers of whom were of the original or early stock of that society there.† They had early purchased

* Among the first *German-town* settlers from *Krisheim*, was *Dennis Conrad*. The first religious meeting of the *Quakers*, in that place, was held at his house, in 1683. He was an hospitable well disposed man, of an inoffensive life, and good character. He died in the year 1729.

† Divers of these early *Welsh* settlers were persons of excellent and worthy character; and several of good education, family and estate, chiefly *Quakers*; and many of them either eminent preachers in that society, or otherwise well qualified and disposed to do good, in various capacities, both in religious and civil, in public and private life.

Of some of them there are particular and extraordinary accounts in manuscript, both respecting their eminent religious services among the *Quakers*, &c. and also of their great usefulness among their neighbours, in settling the province, and in regulating and managing the civil affairs of the government; as persons highly and justly esteemed and distinguished both in private and public station. Of these, besides others, I find particularly mentioned,

John Thomas, *Robert Owen* and *Jane*, his wife, from *Mercersburgh*; pious and honourable persons, of good family, education and abilities; and had suffered much persecution for their religion, being *Quakers*; but they died soon after their arrival.

There was also another *Robert Owen*, who removed from *Wales* into *Pennsylvania*, in 1690. He was, by account, an eminent preacher, and a very serviceable and worthy person, among the *Quakers*;—being a man endowed with many excellent qualities; a skilful peace-maker, and of much service and utility, in various respects while he lived in the country. He died in the year 1697.

Rowland Ellis was a man of note among the *Welsh* settlers; from a place called *Brin-Maur*, near *Dolgelly* in the county of *Mercersburgh*. In 1682, he sent over *Thomas Owen* and his family to make a settlement. This was the custom of divers others of the *Welsh*, at first, to send persons over to take up land for them, and to prepare it, against their coming afterwards.

purchased of the Proprietary, in *England*, forty thousand acres of land. 1682.

Those who came, at present, took up so much of it, on the west side of *Sculkil* river, as made the three townships, of *Merion*, *Haverford* and *Radnor*; and in a few years afterwards, their number was so much augmented, as to settle the three other townships of *New-town*, *Goshen* and *Uwchland*. After this they continued still increasing, and became a numerous and flourishing people.

Notwithstanding

But *Rowland Ellis*, chusing to see the country, before he removed his family, sailed in a Bristol ship from *Milford Haven*, for *Pennsylvania*, on the sixteenth of the eighth month, 1686; taking along with him his eldest son, *Rowland*, then a boy, and they had a very long and tedious passage, in which they touched at *Barbadoes*, not arriving at the province, till about twenty-four weeks after their first sailing. The Welsh passengers were about one hundred, all from the same place with him. Many of them died through want of necessary provisions; and others afterwards, from the remaining effects of their sufferings; and some that survived, never recovered their former strength; though at *Barbadoes*, where they stayed about six weeks, and were kindly and friendly treated, many were much recruited from their languishing condition, and the death of divers others prevented, &c.

After having been about nine months in the province, and making the necessary preparations for the reception of his family, which he intended to bring over, he returned in the next spring, to his native land, leaving his young son with his uncle *John Humphrey*. But he did not return to *Pennsylvania*, till the year 1697; when he sailed in a *Liverpool* vessel, with many other families, consisting of about one hundred passengers, all from *North Wales*; and in about six weeks they arrived at *Philadelphia*, in the fourth month.

Rowland Ellis was then in the forty-fifth year of his age. He left his eldest daughter and heiress, by a former wife, in possession of his paternal inheritance, at which he had lived most of his time.

After this his last arrival in *Pennsylvania*, he is said to have lived long to do good. His services, both in church and state, being considerable. He was a preacher among the *Quakers*; but his greatest service did not appear to be that way. He was an acceptable man in every station. He died in the eightieth year of his age, at his son-in-law, *John Evans's* house, in *North Wales, Pennsylvania*;—of whom and his pious exit, there is a more particular account, in manuscript.

Hugh Roberts was an eminent preacher, among the *Quakers*; a man of note, and good character, in *Pennsylvania*; to which he removed from *Wales*, about the year 1683; where he lived near eighteen years, to an advanced age.

He had suffered much for his religion, in his native country, prior to his removal to *America*. He is said to have been of a tender and affectionate disposition of mind, and a very valuable and worthy person. He was, for some years a member of the provincial council, &c.

—On

1682. Notwithstanding the precaution, which many of these adventurers had used, in bringing provisions and other necessaries with them, for a certain time, yet it cannot be reasonably supposed that the arrival of such a large number of people, in a wilderness, within the space of two or three years would not necessarily be attended with inconveniencies and difficulties. Though the *European* inhabitants, in the country, prior to their arrival, were kind and assisting, yet they were very few, mostly new or late settlers, and consequently but meanly provided, either with provisions, or other accommodations; infomuch that sometimes, for divers years afterwards, the scarcity, which was experienced among them, of the former, caused very alarming apprehensions.*

Difficulties of the first settlers, &c.

Sometimes alarmed with the prospect of want, &c.

Besides

—On his return from a religious visit to his native country, in the service of preaching the gospel, in the year 1698, a number of the Inhabitants of *North Wales* removed to *Pennsylvania*, in company with him; where he arrived on the 7th. of the Fifth month, many of the passengers having died at sea of the *Bloody Flux*, during the passage.

In the latter end of this year, (1698) William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith, John Hugh, Edward Foulke, John Humphrey, Robert Jones, and others, having purchased of Robert Turner, ten thousand acres of land, began in the following year, to improve and settle the same, and called the township *Guinedd*, in English *North Wales*. Some of the last mentioned passengers settled here; who, in general, did not, at first, profess with the *Quakers*; but afterwards they, with many others, as the neighbourhood increased, joined in religious society with them, and were as industrious and worthy people.

Ellis Pugh, one of the early *Welsh* settlers, who arrived in the province in the year 1687, lived much of his time, and died, here, 1728. He was convinced of the *Quakers'* principles, in *Wales*, about the year 1674. He became a minister among them, in 1680. In which capacity he continued till his death, being a very serviceable person, in every respects, and of an excellent character.

* Among other particular accounts, of this kind, I find the following, which may give a further idea of those early times in the province, &c.

John Scarborough, of *London*, coach-smith, arrived in the country, in 1682, with his son *John*, then a youth, and settled in *Middletown*, in *Bucks* county, among the first, in those parts; where he remained about two years; and then embarked for his native country, with intention to bring over his wife and family;—having suffered much, by persecution, for his religion, in *England*, being a *Quaker*.

During his residence in *Pennsylvania*, provisions being sometimes scarce,

Besides, these adventurers were not all young persons, and able to endure the difficulties and hardships which are mostly unavoidable in subduing a wilderness, or as equally regardless of convenient accommodations as young healthy and strong men, accustomed to labor and disappointment: but there were among them persons advanced in years, with women and children; and such as, in their native country, had lived well, and enjoyed ease and plenty.

1682.

Some of them advanced in years, &c.

scarce, in that part, where he resided, especially in the first year, he is said to have had occasion to remark the providence of God to him, and those near him, when they were under greater difficulty, on this account, than at other times.

The wild pigeons came in such great numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by their flight; and, flying low, they were frequently knocked down, as they flew; in great quantities, by those who had no other means to take them: whereby they supplied themselves; and having salted those, which they could not immediately use, they preserved them, both for bread and meat.

Thus they were supplied several times, during the first two or three years, till they had raised, by their industry, food sufficient out of the ground:—for the tilling of which, at that time, they used *Hoes*, having neither horses nor plows.—The *Indians* were remarkably kind, and very assistant to them, in divers respects, frequently supplying them with such provisions, as they could spare, &c.

John Scarborough, having placed his son under the care of a friend, failed for *England*; but he never returned.—His wife, who was not a *Quaker*, being unwilling to leave her native country, and persecution beginning to cease, he afterwards gave his possessions, in *Pennsylvania* to his son, whom he had left in the province; with a strict charge, when it should be in his power, to be kind to the poor *Indians*, for the favours he had received from them: which his son faithfully observed, and complied with; and is said to have been a worthy man, and of good character. M. S.

John Chapman came from *England* in 1684. The ship, in which he came, by reason of bad weather, put into *Maryland*; where he met with *Phineas Pemberton*, whose father-in-law, *James Harrison*, had purchased, in *Bucks* county, *Pennsylvania*, five thousand acres of land; part of it in *Wright's* town;—hence *Chapman* getting intelligence of that part of the country, afterwards settled there. He went from *Maryland*, with his family, first to *Phineas Pemberton's* plantation, near the falls of *Delaware*; who had now made a convenient settlement, and entertained the new-comers with much kindness.—From hence *Chapman* went to his purchase, in *Wright's* town; where, within about twelve months afterwards, his wife had two sons at one time; whence he called the place *Twins-borough*.

At this time *Chapman's* place was the furthest back, in the woods, of any *English* settlement; and the *Indians*, being then numerous, much frequented his house, in great companies, and were very kind to him and his family, as well as to those who came after him; often supplying them with

1682.

First employment of the settlers, on their arrival, &c.

Their first business, after their arrival, was to land their property, and put it under such shelter as could be found; then, while some of them got warrants of survey, for taking up so much land as was sufficient for immediate settling, others went diversely further into the woods, to the different places, where their lands were laid out; often without any path or road, to direct them; for scarcely any were to be found above two miles from the water side; not so much as any mark, or sign of any *European* having been there. As to the *Indians*, they seldom travelled so regularly as to be traced or followed by foot-steps; except perhaps from one of their towns to another. Their huntings were rather like ships at sea, without any track or path. So that all the country, further than about two miles distant, from the river, (excepting the *Indians* moveable settlements) was an entire wilderness, producing nothing for the support of human life, but the wild fruits and animals of the woods.

The country was a wilderness.

with corn, and other provisions; which in those early times, more especially in that part of country, were very scarce, and hard to be procured.—

In one of these scarce times *J. Chapman's* eldest daughter, *Mary*, supplied his family by an incident unexpected;—being near *Neshaminy*, which runs into the *Delaware*, she heard an unusual noise, like that of something in distress; upon search, she found a large *Buck*, which disengaged himself from a wolf that a little before had seized on him, and had fled to the creek, for safety, under a high bank;—the *Buck* stood still, till she took the halter from the horse, on which she rode, and with a stick, put it over his horns; whereby she secured him, till assistance came; on which the wolf retired:—such incidents as this, in those times, were looked upon as providential favours:—

Abraham and *Joseph Chapman*, the twins before mentioned, when about nine or ten years old, going out one evening, to seek their father, met an *Indian*, in the woods; who told them to go back; else they would be lost. Soon after this they took his advice, and went back; but within night before they got home; where they found the *Indian*, who, being careful lest they should lose themselves, had repaired thither the night, to see, &c. And their parents, about that time, going to yearly meeting at *Philadelphia*, and leaving a young family at home (they being *Quakers*) the *Indians* came every day, to see whether a thing was amiss among them.—Such, in many instances was the treatment and behaviour of the natives, or aborigines, of this country to the *English*, in their first and early settlement of it.

The lodgings of some of these settlers were, at 1682. first, in the woods; a chosen tree was frequently all the shelter they had, against the inclemency of the weather: This sometimes happened late in the fall, and, even, in the winter season. The next coverings of many of them were, either caves, in the earth, or such huts, erected upon it, as could be most expeditiously procured, till better houses were built; for which they had no want of timber.

First dwelling places, &c.

It is impossible that these first adventurers and settlers, who had never seen, nor been accustomed to, such a scene, could, at first, have that proper idea, or method of improving this wilderness, which experience afterwards taught. It is likewise certain, that the great difference, between the finely improved, cultivated and open countries, with the near connections, which many of them had left behind, and the appearance of a wild and woody desert, with which they had now to encounter, among savages, must have created, in them, very sensible ideas, and made strong impressions, at first, on their minds:—That likewise the consideration of the long and painful labour, and inevitable disappointments and hardships, which, more or less, are naturally inseparable from such undertakings, and for a series of years must necessarily be endured, before a comfortable subsistence could be procured, in the country, and a sufficient portion of land brought into proper order, for that purpose, must undoubtedly have been very affecting to a thoughtful people, in this new, remote and solitary situation!—But the soil was fertile; the air mostly clear and healthy; the streams of water were good and plentiful; wood, for fire and building, in abundance;—And, as they were a pious and religious people, knowing their views, in this their undertaking, to be good, they cheerfully underwent

Great change productive of strong and affecting sensations, &c.

Of the discouraging and encouraging prospect of the first and early settlers, &c.

1682. underwent all difficulties of this nature, and divine Providence blessed their industry.*

For

* In a short treatise, printed and published in London, by Andrew Sowle, in *Sbereditch*, 1684, (but without the author's name) the views and motives of some of these early colonists seem, in a more particular manner, to be exhibited.—The title and introductory part of it here follow, as a specimen, *viz.*

"The Planter's speech to his neighbours and countrymen of *Pennsylvania*, *East* and *West-Jersey*, and to all such as have transported themselves into new colonies, for the sake of a quiet and retired life.

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though it may seem very impertinent and unnecessary to go about to repeat to you the occasions and motives, that inclined you to abandon the land of your nativity, and those comfortable outward employments and accommodations, which most of you had there, and to adventure yourselves to the hazards of a long voyage at sea, to come to this remote part of the world; yet, lest you should forget those inducements, as often it happens, that men, by a slothful negligence, or ignorance, after some tract of time, fall from their first love, and blindly hurry themselves into the very same mischiefs, which they intended to avoid, and build up again what they justly endeavoured to destroy, not foreseeing the future ill consequences of their present (supposed innocent) actions; I shall take leave briefly to mention some few of those weighty causes which I am confident, originally swayed your spirits to this transplantation, and those good ends, for the obtaining of which, you chiefly removed hither.

"The motives of your retreating to these new habitations, I apprehend, (measuring your sentiments by my own) to have been;


1st. "The desires of a *peaceable life*, where we might worship God, and obey his law, with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors of fierce invasions of tradition, politic craft, covetous, or ambitious cruelty," &c.

2d. "That we might here, as on a *virgin sylvian shore*, commence, or improve, such an innocent course of life, as might unload us of those outward cares, vexations and turmoils, which before we were always subjected unto, from the hands of self designing and unreasonable men.

3d. "That, as *Lot*, by flying to little *Zoar*, from the ungodly company of a more populous, magnificent dwelling, we might avoid both being grieved with the sight of infectious, as well as odious examples, of *horrid swearings, cursings, drunkenness, gluttony, uncleanness*, and all kinds of *debauchery*, continually committed with greediness; and also escape the judgments, threatened to every land, polluted with such abominations.

4th. "That, as *trees* are transplanted from one soil to another, to render them more thriving, and better bearers, so we here, in peace and secure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth more plenteous fruits, to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

5th. "And lastly, That in order hereunto, by our holy *doctrine*, and the *practical teachings* of our exemplary, abstemious lives, transacted in all humility, sobriety, plainness, self-denial, virtue and honesty, we might gain upon those thousands of poor dark souls, scattered round about us, (and commonly, in way of contempt, and reproach, called *heathens*) and bring them, not only to a state of *civility*, but real *piety*, which

For these first comers, after their arrival, soon 1682.
 cleared land enough, to make way for a crop of 
Indian corn, in the succeeding spring; and in a
 year or two, they began upon wheat, and other
 grain; thus they went on improving, till they got
 into a comfortable way of living; so that many of
 them

They soon
 get into a
 prosperous
 way of
 living, &c.

which effected, would turn to a more satisfactory account, than if, with the proud *Spaniards*, we had gained the mines of Potosi, and might make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush, for their petty and shameful victories, which only tend to make their fellow creatures *slaves* to those, that are already the *Devil's vassals*: whereas hereby we might release millions from the chains of *Satan*, and not only teach them their rights, as *Men*, and their happiness, when *Christians*, but bring them from the power of darkness into the marvellous light, and the glorious liberty of the sons of the Most High.

"These thoughts, these designs, my friends, were those, that brought you hither; and so far only, as you pursue and accomplish them, you obtain the end of your journey. If these be neglected, though your ports and rivers were full of *trading ships*, your land never so *populous*, and loaden with most vendible commodities, yet I would be bold to say, that your plantations were in a most *unthriving condition*; that like men in a fever, tumbling from one side of the bed to the other, you have shifted your dwelling, but not recovered your health; nor are one inch nearer your proposed happiness, in *America*, than in *Europe*; and have travelled some thousands of miles, to as little purpose, as the *Jesuits*, into *Japan* and *China*, or foolish pilgrims, in their tedious, vain, journeys to *Compostella*, *Loretto*, or *Jerusalem*.

"Our business, therefore, here, in this *new land*, is not so much to *build houses*, and *establish factories*, and promote *trade* and *manufactories*, that may enrich ourselves, (though all these things, in their due place, are not to be neglected) as to erect temples of *holiness* and *righteousness*, which *God* may delight in; to lay such lasting frames and foundations of *temperance* and *virtue*, as may support the superstructures of our future happiness, both in this, and the other world.

"In order to these great and glorious ends, it will well become, nay, it is the indispensable duty of all, that are *superiors* amongst us, to make *laws*, and imitate *customs*, that may tend to *innocency*, and an *harmless life*; so as to avoid and prevent all oppression and violence, either to *men* or *beasts*; by which we shall strengthen the principle of *well-doing*, and qualify the fierce, bitter, envious, wrathful spirit; which, (as 'tis said of fire and water, in the extremes) is a good *servant*, but a bad master," &c.

N. B. In the remainder of this performance, divers particulars are proposed, as fundamentals, for future laws and customs, tending principally to establish a higher degree of temperance, and original simplicity of manners;—more particularly against the use of *spirituous liquors*, than had been usual before.—Every thing of a *military* nature, even, the use of the instruments thereof, is not only disapproved and the distraction of the human species thereby, condemned in this *speech*, but likewise all violence, or cruelty, towards, and the wanton killing of, the inferior living creatures, with the eating of *animal food*, are also strongly advised against, in those proposed regulations, customs, or laws, with the reasons given, &c. to the end that a higher degree of love, perfection and happiness might more universally be introduced and preserved, among mankind, &c.

1682. them were blessed both with the necessaries and conveniencies of life beyond their expectation; and, after having lived to old age, they are said to have frequently recollected and spoke of the favours of divine Providence, in preserving them through the difficulties, with which they encountered, in their first and early settling the country: Of which the following extract from the testimony of one of them, being a *Quaker*, a person of an approved character, is an instance, and exhibits a specimen of this nature, viz.

Richard
Townsend's
account of
his removal
to Pennsylv-
ania, &c.

“ *The testimony of Richard Townsend, shewing the providential hand of God, to him and others, from the first settlement of Pennsylvania, to this day. (About the year 1727.)* ”

“ Whereas King *Charles* the second, in the year 1681, was pleased to grant this province to *William Penn*, and his heirs, for ever; which act seemed to be an act of *Providence* to many religious, good, people; and the Proprietor, *William Penn*, being one of the people called *Quakers*, and in good esteem, among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the settlement of this place.

“ To that end, in the year 1682 several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child; and about the latter end of the Sixth-month, having settled my affairs in *London*, where I dwelt, I went, on board the ship *Welcome*, *Robert Greenaway*, commander, in company with my worthy friend, *William Penn*; whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested, in contributing to the necessities of many, who were sick of the *Small-pox*, then on board; out of which company about thirty died.—After a prosperous passage of about two months, having had, in that time, many good meetings, on board, we arrived here.

“ At

“ At our arrival, we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were *Indians*, and some *Swedes*; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of *Providence* was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us, by the *Swedes* and *Indians*, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

1682.
Richard
Townsend's
account,
&c.

“ Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our *religious worship*; and, in order thereunto, we had several *meetings*, in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near *Delaware*; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other, in building little houses, for our shelter.

“ After some time I set up a *mill*, on *Chester* creek; which I brought ready framed from *London*; which served for grinding of corn, and sawing of boards; and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with *Joshua Tittery*, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish; which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey, for about one shilling, and *Indian* corn for about two shillings and six pence per bushel.

“ And, as our worthy Proprietor treated the *Indians* with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the *Indians* were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

1682.



Richard
Townsend's
account,
&c.

“ About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low *Germany*, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from *Philadelphia*, and called the place *Germanstown*.—The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back.—

“ Also a place called *North Wales*, was settled by many of the *ancient Britons*, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth, as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large conviction was among them; and divers meeting-houses were built.

“ About the time, in which *Germanstown* was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the Proprietor, in *England*, about a mile from thence; where I set up a house and a corn mill;—which was very useful to the country, for several miles round:—But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles;—I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him, instead of a horse.

“ Being now settled about six or seven miles from *Philadelphia*, where leaving the principal body of friends, together with the chief place of provisions, as before mentioned, flesh meat was very scarce with me, for some time; of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence, in the following manner:—

“ As I was in my meadow, mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me; I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me; upon which I laid down my scythe, and went towards him; upon which he ran off a small distance; I went to my work again, and the Deer continued looking on me; so that several times I left my work, to go towards him; but he still kept himself at a distance; at last, as I was going towards him,

him, and he, looking on me, did not mind his steps, but ran forceably against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much, that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and, getting upon him, held him by the legs:—After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and, with some difficulty, from his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile, to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and killed him for me; he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence, of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

1682.

Richard
Townsend
account,
&c.

“ As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those, who came after us, were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as *Philadelphia* increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a *wilderness*, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field:—On which to look back, and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the *Almighty*, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings; wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving kindness, in reaching to, and convincing many persons of the principles of truth; and those, that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew

1682. dew of Heaven:—" I am engaged, in my spirit
to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present
rising generation; that, as God hath blessed
their parents, the same blessing may remain on
their offspring, to the end of time; that it may
be so is the hearty desire and prayer of their an-
cient and loving friend,

Richard
Townsend's
account,
&c.

RICHARD TOWNSEND."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Beginning of the city of Philadelphia.—John Key, the first born.—Province and territory divided into counties.—First General Assembly at Philadelphia in 1683.—Names of the members, and memorials of some of them.—Proceedings of the Assembly.—Second charter, or frame of government.—A seal for each county; the first Sheriffs.—First grand and petit jury, with their business, &c.—Further account of the situation and plan of Philadelphia.—William Penn's letter to the free society of traders, giving an account of Pennsylvania at that time.

IN the latter part of this year, 1682, the Proprietary, having finished his business with the *Indians*, undertook, with the assistance of his Surveyor General, *Thomas Holme*, to lay out a place for the city. The ground, which was chosen for that purpose, was claimed by some *Swedes*; to whom he gave, in exchange for it, a larger quantity of land, at a small distance.

1682.

A place
chosen and
laid out,
for the city
of Philadel-
phia, &c.

The situation of this place, being where *Philadelphia* now stands, along the western side of the river *Delaware*, then exhibited, on the said river, an agreeable prospect; it had a high and dry bank next the water, with a high shore, ornamented with a fine view of Pine trees, growing upon it.

In this bank many of the first and early adventurers had their caves, or holes, for their residence, before any houses were built, or better accommodations prepared for them. The first house erected

First
house in
Philadel-
phia, &c.

on

1682. on this plot of ground, was built by *George Guest*, and not finished at the time of the Proprietor's arrival.*

Soon afterwards many small houses were erected. *William Penn* himself had a large mansion house, built on his *Manor of Pennsbury*, near the side of *Delaware*, a few miles below the falls of *Trenton*, and about twenty-six above the city: which appears to have been undertaken before his arrival, and intended for his reception. Here afterwards he sometimes resided, and had meetings and conferences with the *Indians*, both on a religious and civil account.

Province and territory divided into counties, &c. About this time also the Proprietor, with the consent of the purchasers under him, divided the province and territories, each into three counties; those of the province were called the counties of *Bucks*, *Philadelphia*, and *Chester*; those of the territories, *New-castle*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*. For which having appointed *Sheriffs*, and other proper officers, in each county, he issued writs,† for the election

* "This house was then building in *Budd's row*, near that called *Powell's dock*.—He, for many years afterwards, kept a tavern there, called the *Blue anchor*."

John Key, who was said to be the first born child of *English* parents in *Philadelphia*, and that, in compliment of which *William Penn* gave him a lot of ground, died at *Kennet*, in *Chester* county, on the fifth of July, 1767, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; where his corpse was interred, in the *Quakers* burying ground, the next day, attended by a great concourse of people.—He was born in a cave, long afterwards known by the name of *Penny-pot*, near *Sassafras-freet*.—I have seen him myself more than once, in the city; to which, about six years before his death, he walked on foot, from *Kennet*, about thirty miles, in one day. In the latter part of his life, he generally in the city, went under the name of *first born*.

† The following form of these writs is taken from the original, viz. (L. S.) "William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging:

"I do hereby, in the King's name, empower and require thee to summon all the freeholders, in thy bailiwick, to meet on the 20th. day of the next month, at the falls upon *Delaware* river; and that they then and there, elect and chuse out of themselves, twelve persons of men note for wisdom and integrity, to serve as their delegates, in the provincial council, to be held at *Philadelphia*, the 10th. day of the first month next;

election of members of Council and Assembly, 1683.
conformable to the constitution, at that time. 

He met the Council on the tenth day of the First month, 1683, O. S. at *Philadelphia*, and the Assembly, two days afterwards. The number of the members for both the Council and Assembly consisted of twelve, out of each county: three for the Council, and nine for the Assembly, making in all, seventy-two. Those of the Council were:—

William Markham,	Edward Cantwell,	Names of the Council.
Christopher Taylor,	William Clayton,	
Thomas Holme,	William Biles,	
Lacy Cock,	James Harrison,	
William Haige,	William Clark,	
John Moll,	Francis Whitewell,	
Ralf Withers,	John Richardson,	
John Simcock,	John Hillyard.	

The members of Assembly for each county were:

<i>For Bucks.</i>	<i>For Philadelphia.</i>	
William Yardly,	John Songhurst,	Names of the Assembly.
Samuel Darke,	John Hart,	
Robert Lucas,	Walter King,	
Nicholas Walne,	Andros Binkson,	
John Wood,	John Moon,	
John Clowes,	Thomas Wynne, <i>Speaker</i> ,	
Thomas Fitzwater,	Griffith Jones,	
Robert Hall,	William Warner,	
James Boyden.	Swan Swanfon.	

For

and that thou there declare to the said freemen, that they may all personally appear at an Assembly, at the place aforesaid, according to the contents of my charter of liberties; of which thou art to make me a true and faithful return.

" Given at Philadelphia, the
month, 1682.

day of the

WILLIAM PENN."

" To Richard Noble, High Sheriff of the county
of Bucks; and the other five Sheriffs likewise
for their several counties."

1683.

For Chester.

John Hofkins,
Robert Wade,
George Wood,
John Blunston,
Dennis Rochford,
Thomas Bracy,
John Bezer,
John Harding,
Joseph Phipps.

For Kent.

John Biggs,
Simon Irons,
Thomas Haffold,
John Curtis,
Robert Bedwell,
William Windsmore,
John Brinkloe,
Daniel Brown,
Benony Bishop.

For New-castle.

John Cann,
John Darby,
Valentine Hollingsworth,
Gasparus Herman,
John Dehoaf,
James Williams,
William Guest,
Peter Alrick,
Henrick Williams.

For Suffex.

Luke Watfon,
Alexander Draper,
William Futchet,
Henry Bowman,
Alexander Moleston,
John Hill,
Robert Bracy,
John Kipshaven,
Cornelius Verhoof.*

* I find very little on record respecting the particular characters of these members of this first provincial Council and Assembly, which met at Philadelphia:

Captain *William Markham* from London, was a relation of the Proprietor. He was afterwards sometimes his Secretary, and sometimes his Deputy Governor. He appears to have been an useful person, of good education, character and ability. He had the Proprietor's confidence and esteem, till his death, in the year——.

Christopher Taylor is said to have been a person of excellent character and ability, he was born in *Torkshire*, had a good education, wrote well in the Latin language.—He was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*; and writ several pieces in defence of their religious principles, in England, as well as his brother, Thomas Taylor, &c. He was one of the first and principal settlers in the province, under William Penn; and is said to have been of great service in it, in different respects. He died in 1696.

Captain *Thomas Holme* came from *Waterford*, in *Ireland*.—He was one of the people called *Quakers*, and *Surveyor-General* of the province, appointed by commission, from the Proprietor, bearing date, the 18th. of the second month, 1682.

Lacy Cock appears to have been one of the *Swede* settlers, prior to *William Penn's* arrival.

John Simcock came from *Ridley*, in *Cheeshire*, in England, where he had suffered much for his religion, being a *Quaker*, and a preacher in that society. He had a good education, was one of the Proprietor's first commissioners of property, and one of his most trusty friends, in the government. Sometimes he was Speaker of the Assembly; and is said to have

Though the charter of privileges, or frame of government, required a greater number, than were now returned, to serve in Council and Assembly, yet it was left to be explained and confirmed by the Governor, his heirs and assigns, and by the freemen of the province and territories; therefore, finding it too inconvenient to return the full complement, prescribed by charter, the freemen depended upon the Proprietor's construction of their choice, in a favourable manner; and alledged their reasons, both in the Sheriffs' returns, and also by divers petitions and addressees, for chusing only twelve for each county, as sufficient to compose both the Council and Assembly; declaring that the number returned, that is, three for the Council, and nine for the Assembly, from each county,

1683.

Proceed-
ings of the
Assembly.
&c.

The free-
men do not
strictly
comply
with their
charter, &c.

have been a very worthy and serviceable person, in the province, till his death, both in a religious and civil capacity. He lived in *Chester* county; and died on the 27th. of January, 1702.

William Biles was a preacher among the *Quakers*, among the first settlers there; where he appears to have taken up land, under Governor *Andros*, of *New-York*, prior to *William Penn's* grant of the province. He is said to have been a very useful person both in the civil and religious line; being often in the Council and Assembly, &c.

James Harrison came from *Boulton*, in *Lancashire*, one of the Proprietor's first commissioners of property; was divers years in great esteem with him, and his agent, at *Pennsbury*, &c. being a man of good education, and a preacher among the *Quakers*, &c.

William Haige, had been a merchant in London.

Ralph Withers, from Bishop's Canning in Wiltshire.

Griffith Jones, from Surry.

Francis Whitwell was counsellor for *Kent* county. He is said to have been a very serviceable person, in the government, among the first and early settlers; a preacher among the *Quakers*; and every way a very useful and worthy member of society. He died in the year 1684; and *William Darval* was chosen Counsellor in his stead.

Thomas Wynne was Speaker of the Assembly, during the two first years, and was, at other times, a member of it. He was one of the people called *Quakers*, a preacher among them, and came from *North Wales*; a person of note and good character:—He died in the latter part of the year 1692.—He was author of some pieces written in defence of the *Quakers*, in his native country, &c.

John Moon was originally of *Lancashire* in England, afterwards of *Bristol*:—He writ some pieces in defence of the *Quakers*, in his native country, &c.

John Sangbursf came from *Sussex*, in England, was a writer and preacher among the *Quakers*.—He died in *West-Jersey*, and was buried in *Pelkdelphia*, in 1688.

1683. county, had in them the power of the whole freemen of the province and territories, and consequently, of serving in these capacities.

It was accordingly requested of the Governor that this alteration might not deprive the people of the benefit of their charter, though it might seem to be returned to him again, by not being accepted so largely as granted. Upon which the Governor answered, "That they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and, that he was ready to settle such foundations, as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him."

These preliminaries being settled, the different branches of the Legislature proceeded on business, according to the method prescribed in their charter of privileges, that the Governor and Provincial Council should propose to the Assembly, and prepare all bills, which they, at any time, should think proper to be passed into laws, consistent with the powers granted, in the King's letters patent.

In such popular and unexperienced Councils, where every man may propose any thing, which he fancies will tend to the public good, it is no wonder, if extraordinary propositions should sometimes be made; and though many singularities of this nature do not appear to have occurred in this province, yet, probably, the two following, which are said to have been made, at this time, may be ranked under this description: First, that young men should be obliged to marry at, or before a certain age: Second, that two sorts of cloaths only shall be worn; one for winter, and the other for summer.—Of the propositions, which were now made, some were agreed to, and some rejected: but the principal thing done, this session, was the alteration of the charter of liberties, called the *frame of government*, which had before been in agitation.

At

At a Council, held the 20th. of the First month, 1683. the speaker, and two members of Assembly attending with some bills, which had been sent to them, the Governor and Council desired a conference with the whole house and freemen, about the charter. Upon their attending, the Governor asked them, "*Whether they chose to have the old charter, or a new one?*" They unanimously requested a new one, with such amendments, as had already been debated and agreed on. To which the Governor consented, and made a speech to them, on the occasion; in which he distinguished their duty, and his own willingness to oblige them. Next day the house sent *Griffith Jones* and *Thomas Fitzwater*, two of their members, with a written message to the Governor, containing their thankful acknowledgments, for his kind speech, and gratefully embracing his offers, respecting what they desired to be inserted in their charter.

The house and freemen request a new charter, &c.

A committee of each house was thereupon appointed to draw up the *charter*, with amendments: Those of the Council were, *John Moll*, for *New-castle*; *Francis Whitewell*, for *Kent*; *William Clark*, for *Sussex*; *James Harrison*, for *Bucks*; *William Clayton*, for *Chester*; and *Thomas Holme*, for *Philadelphia*. The committee of Assembly were: *James Williams*, for *New-castle*; *Benony Bishop*, for *Kent*; *Luke Watson*, for *Sussex*; *Thomas Fitzwater*, for *Bucks*; *Dennis Rochford*, for *Chester*; and *Thomas Wynne*, the Speaker, for *Philadelphia* county.

At a council held the 30th. of the First-month, this year, the charter being prepared and read, signed, sealed and delivered by the Governor, was received by *James Harrison*, *Thomas Wynne*, and another member, on behalf of the assembly and freemen, who returned the old one to the Governor, with the hearty thanks of the whole house; which new charter may be seen in the appendix, No. 3.

A new charter obtained from the Proprietary.

By

1683. By this charter the provincial council was to consist of eighteen persons, three from each county; and the assembly was to be composed of thirty-six; men of most note, for virtue, wisdom and ability; by whom, with the Governor, all laws were to be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, in the manner therein expressed.

Purport of
this charter,
&c.

This charter continued in force till after the revolution, in *England*; and though in some parts, it was formed upon a generous plan; yet all the laws were thereby still to be prepared and proposed by the Governor and Council; and the number of Assemblymen were to be increased at their pleasure. This charter, with another, which followed, in the year 1696, seemed to be only preparatory to the last *Charter of Privileges*, granted in 1701.

This was the last affair transacted at this session; which continued twenty-two days.—The Governor and Council, among other regulations, established a *Seal*, for each county, viz. for *Philadelphia*, an *Anchor*; for *Bucks*, a *Tree & Vine*; for *Chester*, a *Plow*; for *New-Castle*, a *Cassia*; for *Kent*, three *Ears of Indian Corn*; and for *Sussex*, a *Wheat Sheaf*.

A seal for
each county.

The first sheriffs, appointed for each county, were: for *Philadelphia*, *John Test*; *Chester*, *Thomas Usher*; *Bucks*, *Richard Noble*; *New-Castle*, *Edmund Cantwell*; *Kent*, *Peter Bowcomb*; *Sussex*, *John Vines*.

First Sheriffs.

The first *Grand Jury*, in *Pennsylvania*, was summoned on the second of the third month, this year, (1683) upon some persons, accused of issuing counterfeit silver money. The Governor and Council sat, as a Court of Justice, on the occasion. The names of those impanelled and attested to serve on the *Grand Jury* were, *Thomas Lloyd*, Foreman, *Enoch Flower*, *Richard Wood*, *John Harding*, *John Hill*, *Edward Louff*, *James Boyden*, *Nicholas Walne*, *John James*, *John Vanborson*, *Robert Hall*, *Valentine Hollingsworth*, *Alexander Draper*, *John Louff*,
John

First grand jury, &c.

Names of
the first
grand jury-
men, &c.


John *Wale*, *Samuel Darke*, *John Parsons*, *John* 1583.
Blunston, *Thomas Fitzwater*, *William Guest*, *John* ~~~~~
Curtis, *Robert Lucas*, *Henry Jones* and *Caleb Pusey*.

A bill or bills, being found by the *Grand Jury*, Names of
a *Petty Jury* was therefore impanelled and attested; of the petty
whose names were: *John Claypoole*, Foreman, jury.
Robert Turner, *Robert Ewer*, *Andrew Binkson*,
John Barnes, *Joseph Fisher*, *Dennis Rochford*, *Wil-*
liam Howell, *Walter King*, *Benjamin Whitehead*,
Thomas Roufe and *David Breintnall*.

They convicted a person, whose name was The sen-
Pickering, and two others, his accomplices, of tence passed
coining and stamping silver, in the form of *Spanish* on a person
pieces, with the alloy of too much copper in it. for counter-
Upon which *Pickering's* sentence, as principal, feiting mo-
was, that for this high misdemeanour, whereof ney.
his country had found him guilty, he should make
full satisfaction, in good and current pay, to every
person, who should, within the space of one month,
bring in any of this false, base and counterfeit
coin, (which the next day was to be called in by
proclamation,) according to their respective pro-
portions; and that the money brought in, should
be melted down before it was returned to him;
and that he should pay a fine of *forty pounds* to-
wards the building of a *Court-house*, stand com-
mitted till the same was paid, and afterwards find
security for his good behaviour.

This and all other affairs, before the Council, W. Penn
being finished, and the members returned to their finishes his
habitations, the Proprietary applied himself to plan and re-
finish his plan, and regulate the streets, of his fa- gulation of
vorite city, *Philadelphia*. Philadel-
phia.

This city is situated forty degrees, or more pre- Situation
cisely 39 degrees, 56 minutes, 54 seconds, north of the city
from the equator, and about seventy-five degrees, &c.
or more accurately 5 hours, 0 minutes, 35 se-
conds,

1683.  conds, west from *London*, on the west side of the river *Delaware*; which river, at this place, is near one mile broad, at the distance of about forty leagues from the sea, along the course of the river and bay. The river *Sculkil*, which is a branch of the *Delaware*, and here runs nearly parallel to it, at the distance of two miles westward, is broad and deep enough for large ships, at this place; but, by reason of a *sand-bar*, at its mouth, where it enters the *Delaware*, about four miles below the city, its navigation, for large vessels, is obstructed: And it has *falls* about five miles above the city, to which the tide runs, and no further. Over which *falls*, or rocks, at certain times, in floods and freshes, boats and small craft pass down to the city, with country produce, as, iron, wheat, flour, &c. from the interior parts of the province. The tide rises, in the *Delaware*, generally about six feet, at the city, and flows near thirty miles above it, to the falls at *Trenton*, on the *Jersey* shore, and is navigable all the way for large shipping, as far as that place. But the extent of this river, including all its curves and windings, above these *falls*, (much of which may easily be made navigable) is not yet precisely known.

Description
of the plan
and streets
of Philadel-
phia, &c.

The original plan of this city, as confirmed by charter, dated October 25th. 1701, extends, in length, between the river *Delaware*, on the east, and *Sculkil*, on the west of it, about two miles; and is, in breadth, one mile nearly, on each river. The streets, which run right, and exactly parallel to each other, nearly east and west, from river to river, are nine in number, and they are intersected, at right angles, by twenty-three others, running nearly parallel with the rivers, north and south; none being less than fifty, nor more than one hundred feet broad.

The Proprietor likewise assigned five squares, within this plan, for the public use of the city,
with

other beneficial regulations; whose future importance to the city, having since not been sufficiently considered and attended to, some of them have either been neglected, or violated.

The largest public square, at the center, it is, was intended to contain ten acres of land; the other four, eight acres each. In the original plan by *Thomas Holme*, Surveyor General, the portions, dimensions and situations of all the principal squares and streets, with the names of the same, then given them, and still generally retained, are exhibited, as well as in the following description of it, *viz.*

The distances of the streets from each other, from east to west, with their names and dimensions are:—

From Delaware Front-street to Second-street,	feet	396	Dimensions of the streets, squares, &c.
Second-street to Third-street,	-	496	
Third to Fourth,	-	396	
Fourth to Fifth,	-	396	
Fifth to Sixth,	-	396	
Sixth to Seventh,	-	396	
Seventh to Eighth,	-	396	
Eighth to Ninth,	-	396	
Ninth to Tenth,	-	396	
Tenth to Eleventh,	-	396	
Eleventh to Broad-street,	-	528	
Ten streets, 50 feet each,	-	500	
Distance from Delaware Front-street to Broad-street,		5088	
Distance from <i>Sculkil</i> Front-street to Broad-street,		5088	
Broad-street,		100	

Distance on High-street, between the two Front-streets of *Delaware* and *Sculkil*, exclusive of the space of the two streets, and their distances from each river, equal to two miles, wanting 304 feet.* - 10,276

The

The breadth of the Front-streets, on *Delaware* and *Sculkil*, was then ascertained, when the plan was first made; nor the space of land between them and the respective rivers; so that the whole distance from river to river, appears to be somewhat more than two miles, from some part of the plan.

The

1683. The distances, names and dimensions of all the streets, from north to south, are:—

From Vine-street to Sassafras-street,	- - -	feet 61
Sassafras to Mulberry,	- - -	61
Mulberry to High,	- - -	66
High to Chestnut,	- - -	49
Chestnut to Walnut,	- - -	51
Walnut to Spruce,	- - -	82
Spruce to Pine,	- - -	46
Pine to Cedar,	- - -	65
Seven streets, 50 feet each,	- - -	35
High-street 100 feet, Mulberry-street, 66 feet,	- - -	16

Distance from Cedar-street to Vine-street, inclusive,
equal to one mile and 73 feet, north and south
nearly, including all the streets, - - 535 3

Willia 22

The following printed account is said to be an extract from *Thomas Holme's* description of this plan of the city, viz.

"The city, as the model shews, consists of a large *Front-street*, on each river, and a *High-street*, near the middle, from river to river, of one hundred feet broad; and a *Broad-street*, in the middle of the city, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the centre of the city, is a *square of ten acres*; at each angle to build houses for public affairs. There is also in each quarter of the city, a *square of eight acres*, to be for the like uses, as *Moorfields*, in *London*; and eight streets, besides the said *High-street*, that run from river to river, or from *Front* to *Front*; and twenty streets besides the *Broad-street*, and two *Front-streets*, that run across the city, from side to side; all these streets are fifty feet broad."

Similar to this description of the plan, is that of *Oldmixon*, in his account of the *British colonies*, printed in *London*, 1708; who affirms, he had his information from *William Penn* himself;—"The town was laid out, and a draught taken of it, by Mr. *Thomas Holme*, Surveyor General of the province; which lies now before me," &c.

—"In the centre is a *square of ten acres*, for the *State-house*, *market-house*, *school-house*, and chief *meeting-house* of the *Quakers*."—"In each quarter of this city is a *square of eight acres*, to be for the like uses, as *Moorfields*, in *London*," &c.

OLDMIXON, &c.

William Penn, in answer to a remonstrance and address to him, from several of the adventurers, freeholders and inhabitants, in the city of *Philadelphia*, respecting the front, or bank, lots, along the side of *Delaware*, (who in the ninth article thereof, claimed the privilege to build walls, or fences, in the bank, against their respective lots, and to enjoy them, as their right, &c.) dated the 3d. of the Sixth month, 1684, thus expresses himself, on this part of it; (which is here taken from his own hand writing, indented on the back of it) and further shews his intention, in regard to that part of this plan of the city, viz.

"The bank is a top common, from end to end;—The reef, next the water, belongs to front-lot men no more than back-lot men: The way bounds them; they may build stairs;—and the top of the bank, a common exchange,

William Penn, having finished what related to 1683. his excellent plan, by the latter end of the Fifth, or the beginning of the Sixth month, to the general satisfaction of those concerned, writ a letter to the committee of the *Free society of traders*, in London, giving some account of it, and the country, in general, with such observations, as the short space of time, he had resided, and his hurry of business, in it, had permitted him to make.

The Proprietor writes an account of the province, to the society of traders.

It exhibits a specimen of the author's attention to a variety of objects, at the same time: for, while he was so much employed in the important establishment of legislative and civil government, to benefit future times, it discovers a genius not less capable of just observation and judgment, in the inferior departments of universal improvement, than his general conduct otherwise declared him to be master of that true philosophy and best wisdom, which

W. Penn attentive to a variety of things.

exchange, or walk; and against the street common wharfs may be built freely;—but into the water, and the shore, is no purchaser's," &c. M. S.

Dr. Douglas, of Boston, in his summary of the *British settlements in America*, makes the following observations, on the variation of the compass, at Philadelphia, viz.

"The streets of Philadelphia, (says he) anno 1682, were laid out with great preciseness, north 18 degrees east: anno 1742, they were found to be 15 degrees east. This is three degrees alteration, in sixty years, or about one degree every twenty years decreasing.

"In the parallel of 39 degrees, in running the line between Pennsylvania, and Maryland, in 1686, the variation was found to be 9 degrees westerly. In 1739, in running the east and west line, it was found 5 degrees 30 minutes west; difference 3 degrees, 30 minutes, in fifty-three years.

"In 1743, the division line was run between East and West Jersey, 150 miles, 20 chains; when the variation of the south end thereof, at New Harbour, was 5 degrees, 25 minutes west; and at the north end, on Delaware river, in latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes, it was 6 degrees, 35 minutes west.

"In the survey, 1739, of the east and west divisional line (about 25 miles southward of Philadelphia) between Pennsylvania and Maryland; the surveyor allowed a variation of 5 degrees, 30 minutes, west; and found there was about one degree variation thereof, for every twenty miles.

"At Cape Henlopen, 1748, the variation of the compass was 4 degrees west, decreasing."

1683. which is more nearly essential to mental felicity; of which he was ever so generous and communicative. It is the best account, though only an imperfect sketch, of the original state of the province, of its *Aborigines*, and natural history, that is to be found in those times, as follows:—

W. Penn's letter, of the province, &c. “ *A letter from William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, in America, to the committee of the Free society of traders of that province, residing in London: containing a general description of the said province, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof. With an account of the natives, or aborigines.*

“ *My kind Friends,*

Introduction, &c. “ The kindness of yours, by the ship *Thomas and Ann*, doth much oblige me; for, by it I perceive the interest, you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province; which, you are so kind as to think, may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

He has enemies at home, in his absence, &c. “ In the first place, I take notice of the news, you sent me; whereby I find, some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit* too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and, indeed, absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent, as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they, that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no *Jesuit*; and I thank God, very well. And, without injustice to the authors of this, I may

may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. 1683.
 But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from *England*; which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

“ But, if I have been unkindly used, by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough, where I came; an universal kind welcome, every fort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

He is kindly treated in his province.

“ For the *province*, the general condition of it, take as followeth:—

I. “ The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as, sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and, in some places, a fast fat earth; like our best vales, in *England*; especially by inland brooks and rivers: God, in his wisdom, having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil; and that is a black *hazel-mould*, upon a stony, or rocky, bottom.

Of the country, soil and produce, &c.

II. “ The air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene, like the south parts of *France*, rarely overcast; and, as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

Of the air.

III. “ The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms; and in number, hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with *Barnet* and *North Hall*, not two miles from *Philadelphia*.

Waters.

1683. IV. " For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an *English* understanding.

Fall. " First, Of the *fall*; for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th. of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually, in *England*, in September, or rather like an *English* mild spring. From December to the beginning

Winter. of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north east winds bring with them, in *England*; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in *England*. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of *Canada*. The Winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river *Delaware*. From that month, to the month called

Spring. June, we enjoyed a sweet Spring; no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet, this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, Spring and Fall, upon that turn of nature, than in Summer, or Winter. From thence

Of the Summer. to this present month, (August) which endeth the Summer, (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the Summer season, is the south west; but spring, fall and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the Heavens by easterly, or southerly winds, in two hours time, are blown away; the one is followed by the other: A remedy, that seems to have a peculiar providence in it, to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours; and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

" The

V. "The natural produce of the country, of 1683. vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, ypres, chefnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, ^{Natural produce, &c.} ~~sal-~~ ^{Trees.} ~~frs,~~ ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as, ~~ed,~~ white and black; Spanish, chefnut, and swamp, ~~ie~~ most durable of all. Of all which there is ~~enty,~~ for the use of man.

"The fruits, that I find in the woods, are the ^{Fruits.} white and black mulberry, chefnut, walnut, plums, ~~awberries,~~ cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) ^{Grapes.} ~~illed~~ by ignorance, the *fox grape*, because of the ~~liff~~ it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, ~~at~~ little inferior to the *Frontinac*, as it is not much ~~alike~~ in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such ~~ings,~~ as well as mankind, differs the case much. ~~here~~ is a white kind of *Muskadel*, and a little ~~ack~~ grape, like the cluster grape of *England*, ~~at~~ yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, ~~hen~~ ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skill ~~in~~ *Vinerons*, to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my *Frenchman*, this season, ~~who~~ shews some knowledge in those things. Here ~~we~~ also peaches very good, and in great quantities; ^{Peaches.} ~~at~~ an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not. However ~~we~~ may have them, by bushels, for little: they make a pleasant drink; and I think, not inferior to any peach you have in *England*, except the true *Newington*. It is disputable with me, whether it is best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, ~~pecially~~ the grape, by the care and skill of art, ~~to~~ send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where ~~naturally~~ grows, but will hardly be equalled by another

1683. another species of the same kind, that doth naturally grow there. But, to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be, as good wine, as any *European* countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

Artificial
produce,
&c.

VI. "The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley,* oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in *England*, usually bring forth.

Of animals,
&c.

Beasts.

Birds.

Fish, &c.

Whale fish-
ery, &c. in
the bay.

VII. "Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges, in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say, salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin, or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, muskrat; and of the water, the whale, for oil; of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers; whose boats are built, will soon begin

* "Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynne, living on the *Sat-kil*, had, with ordinary cultivation; for one grain of *English* barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley: and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty. And three pecks of wheat sow an acre here."

their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod, in the bay. 1683.

VIII. " We have no want of horses; and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to *Barbadoes* with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen. Horses, cattle, &c.

IX. " There are divers plants, that not only the *Indians* tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and, for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant. Medicinal plants, &c.

X. " The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for color, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of *London* best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial. Flowers of the woods, &c.

" Thus much of the *country*; next, of the *natives*, or *aborigines*.

XI. " The *natives* I shall consider, in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever; and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design; as the *Gypsies*, in *England*. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun, or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight looked *Jew*. The thick lip, and flat nose, so frequent with the *East Indians* and *blacks*, are not common to them: For I have seen as comely *European* like faces among Of the Indians or aborigines.
Their persons.

1683. among them, of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the *Roman*.

Their language.

XII. " Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the *Hebrew*, in signification, full; like short-hand, in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter, on any occasion; and I must say, that I know not a language spoken, in *Europe*, that hath words of more sweetness, or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs; for instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Orieton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquefien*; all which are names of places; and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *Anna*, is mother; *Issimus*, a brother; *Netcap*, friend; *Ufqueoret*, very good; *Pane*, bread; *Metsa*, eat; *Matta*, no; *Hatta*, to have; *Payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatereus*, are the names of persons; if one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer, *Matta ne batta*; which to translate, is, *not I have*; instead of, *I have not*.

Their customs.

XIII. " Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children; so

Of their children.

soon as they are born, they wash them in water; and while very young, and in cold weather to chuse, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait, thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast, upon the board, to make it straight; wherefore all *Indians* have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go, very young, at nine months commonly;

commonly; they wear only a small clout round ^{1683.} their waste, till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing, till ripe for the woods; which is about fifteen; then they hunt; and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. "When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads, ^{Time of marrying, &c.} for an advertisement, but so, as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age, they marry at, if women, is about thirteen, and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

XV. "Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an *English* barn; but out of the power of the winds; for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds, or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils, they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them. ^{Their houses, &c.}

XVI. "Their diet is maize, or *Indian* corn, ^{Their diet} divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes; sometimes beaten and boiled with water; which they call *homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their *larder*.

XVII. "If an *European* comes to see them, or ^{Their visit-} calls for lodging at their house, or *wigwam*, they ^{ing, &c.} give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itab*; which

1683. which is as much as to say, *Good be to you*, and set them down; which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing, to eat, or drink, well: for they will not ask; and be it little, or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away fullen, but say nothing.

They are
revengeful,
and conceal
resentment,
&c.

XVIII. " They are great concealers of their own resentments; brought to it; I believe, by the revenge, that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the *Italians*. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it; upon which she immediately died: and, for which last week, he made an *offering* to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death. For, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

Their great
liberality,
&c.

XIX. " But, in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, be soon spent. The most merry creatures that live feast and dance perpetually; they never have much nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood all parts partake; and though none shall want while another hath, yet exact observers of property.

Sota

Some kings have sold, others presented me with 1683. several parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring kings, and their clans being present, when the goods were brought out, the parties, chiefly concerned, consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it, in like manner, among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little; because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us: if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits, and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling; and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the *Europeans* came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of *strong liquors*, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, *some more, and I will go to sleep*; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world!

Their free manner of life, customs, &c.

Their love of strong liquors, &c.

XX. "In sickness, impatient to be cured; and for it, give any thing, especially for their children; to whom they are extremely natural. They drink, at those times, a *teran*, or decoction of some roots in spring water; and, if they eat any flesh, it must be

Behaviour in sickness, death, &c.

1683. be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman; and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: Their mourning is blacking of their faces; which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass, that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth, with great care and exactness.

Of their
religion,
&c.

XXI. "These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to *religion*, to be sure the tradition of it: yet they believe a *God* and *immortality*, without the help of metaphysics: for, they say, *There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country, to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.* Their *worship* consists of two parts, *sacrifice* and *cantico*. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire; where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him, that performeth the ceremony; but with such marvellous fervency, and labour of body, that he will, even, sweat to a foam. The other part is their *cantico*, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle, that begin; and, by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures, in the dance, are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already; to which all come, that will. I was at one myself: their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves

Their feast-
ings, &c.

of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present, in their money; it may be fixpence; which is made of the bone of a fish: the *black* is, with them, as *gold*; the *white*, *silver*; they call it all *wampum*. 1683.

Their money.

XXII. " Their government is by Kings; which they call *Sachama*; and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him, who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits. The reason, they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious. Their government.

XXIII. " Every King hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation; which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffick, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, saluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me, " He was ordered by his King to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King, that spoke; because what he should say was the King's mind."—He first prayed me, " To excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time, he feared Their mode of doing business with W. Penn &c.

1683. there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither *Indian* nor *English*: besides, it was the *Indian* custom, to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they resolve; and that, if the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."—Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land, they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear; that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time, that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old, grave; the young, reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them, in any treaty, about a thing, they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, "of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the *Indians* and *English* must live in love as long as the sun gave light:" Which done, another made a speech to the *Indians*, in the name of all the *Sachamakers*, or Kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, "To love the *Christians*, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong."—At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, *Amen*, in their way.

XXIV. "The justice they have is pecuniary =
 Their mode of doing justice, &c. In case of any wrong, or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their *wampum*; which is proportioned to the quality of the

the offence, or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render, is, "That she breedeth children; which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and, if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "It was the *drink*, and not the *man*, that abused them." 1683.

XXV. "We have agreed, that, in all differences between us, *fix* of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the *Christians*; who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the *Christians* have not outlived *their fight*, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good, then, might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the *natives*, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable, indeed, for us to fall under the just censure of the poor *Indian* conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

An agreement between them and William Penn, &c.

Their susceptibility of improvement, &c.

XXVI. "For their original, I am ready to believe them of the *Jewish race*; I mean, of the stock of the *ten tribes*; and that, for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a "*land not planted, nor known*;" which, to be sure, *Asia* and *Africa* were, if not *Europe*; and he, that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of *Asia*, to the westernmost of *America*. In the next place; I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man

Of their original.

1683. man would think himself in *Duke's place*, or *Berry-street*, in *London*, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *rites*; they reckon by *moons*; they offer their *first fruits*; they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles*; they are said to lay their altar upon *twelve stones*; their *mourning a year*; *customs of women*, with many other things, that do not now occur.

Their resemblance of the Jews, &c.

“ So much for the *natives*; next, the *old planters* will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

First European planters, &c.

XXVII. “ The first planters, in these parts, were the *Dutch*; and soon after them, the *Swedes* and *Finns*. The *Dutch* applied themselves to *traffick*; the *Swedes* and *Finns*, to *husbandry*. There were some disputes between them, some years; the *Dutch* looking upon them, as intruders upon their purchase and possession; which was finally ended in the surrender, made by *John Rizeing*, the *Swedish* Governor, to *Peter Styresant*, Governor for the states of *Holland*, anno 1655.

Of the Dutch and Swede settlers, &c.

XXVIII. “ The *Dutch* inhabit mostly those parts of the province, that lie upon, or near the *bay*; and the *Swedes*, the *freshest* of the river *Delaware*. There is no need of giving any description of them; who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people; yet have made no great progress, in culture, or propagation, of *fruit trees*; as, if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty, or traffick. But, I presume, the *Indians* made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the *English*, who were few, before the people, concerned with me, came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the *English*; they do not degenerate

rate from the old friendship, between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some, six, seven and eight sons. And I must do them that right; I see few young men more sober and laborious. 1683.

XXIX. "The *Dutch* have a meeting place, for religious worship, at *New-castle*; and the *Swedes*, three; one at *Christina*, one at *Tenecum*; and one at *Wicoco*, within half a mile of this town. Dutch and Swedes' places of worship.

XXX. "There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made: in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth, bounded on the east, by the river and bay of *Delaware*, and *eastern sea*; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river, or bay; some navigable for great ships, some, for small craft. Those of most eminency are, *Christina*, *Brandywine*, *Skilpot*, and *Sculkil*; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of *England*; there being from four to eight fathom water. Of the present state of the country, &c. The rivers.

XXXI. "The lesser creeks, or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are *Lewis*, *Mespilion*, *Cedar*, *Dover*, *Cranbrook*, *Feversham* and *Georges*, below; and *Chichester*, *Chester*, *Toacawny*, *Pammapecka*, *Portqueffin*, *Neshimenck* and *Pennberry*, in the freshes; many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers; which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land: The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, *Philadelphia*, *Buckingham*, *Chester*, *New-castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*; containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord. Creeks. Number of counties, souls, assemblies, &c.

HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

83. cord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks;
 ~ and, at least, seventy laws were passed without one
 dissent, in any material thing. But of this, more
 hereafter, being yet raw and new, in our gear.
 ir rc- However I cannot forget their singular respect to
 to the me, in this infancy of things; who, by their own
 ictor, private expences, so early considered mine, for
 the public, as to present me with an impost, upon
 certain goods imported and exported. Which
 after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did
 as freely remit to the province, and the traders to
 rts of it. And for the well government of the said coun-
 , &c. ties, courts of justice are established in every coun-
 ty, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks,
 constables, &c. which courts are held every two-
 -ma- months. But, to prevent *law suits*, there are
 P- three *peace makers* chosen by every county court,
 d, in the nature of common *arbitrators*, to hear and
 end differences betwixt man and man. And spring
 phans and fall there is an *orphans' court*, in each county to
 &c. inspect and regulate the affairs of *orphans* and
widows.

phila- XXXII. “ *Philadelphia*, the expectation of those,
 a. that are concerned in this province, is, at last,
 laid out, to the great content of those here, that
 are any ways interested therein. The situation is
 a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable
 rivers, *Delaware* and *Sculkil*; whereby it hath two
 fronts upon the water, each a mile; and two from
 river to river. *Delaware* is a glorious river; but
 the *Sculkil*, being an hundred miles boatable above
 the falls, and its course *north east*, towards the
 fountain of *Susquahanna* (that tends to the heart
 of the province, and both sides our own) it is
 like to be a great part of the settlement of this
 age. I say little of the town itself, because a plat-
 page form* will be shewn you by my agent; in which
 ic. those who are purchasers of me, will find their
 names and interests. But this I will say, for the
 good providence of God, that, of all the many
 places,

places, I have seen in the world, I remember not 1683.
 one better seated; so that it seems to me to have
 been appointed for a town, whether we regard
 the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks,
 springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land,
 and the air, held by the people of these parts to
 be very good. It is advanced, within less than a
 year, to about four score houses and cottages,
 such as they are; where merchants and handicrafts
 are following their vocations, as fast as they can;
 while the country men are close at their farms,
 some of them got a little winter corn in the ground
 last season; and the generality have had an hand-
 some summer-crop, and are preparing for their win-
 ter corn. They reaped their barley, this year, in the
 month called May; the wheat in the month follow-
 ing; so that there is time, in these parts, for another
 crop of divers things, before the winter season. We
 are daily in hopes of shipping, to add to our num-
 ber; for, blessed be God, here is both room and
 accommodation for them: The stories of our ne-
 cessity being either the fear of our friends, or the
 scare-crows of our enemies: For the greatest hard-
 ship, we have suffered, hath been salt meat; which
 by fowl, in winter, and fish, in summer, together
 with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plen-
 ty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been
 made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satis-
 fied with the country and entertainment I got in it:
 For I find that particular content, which hath al-
 ways attended me, where God, in his providence,
 hath made it my place and service to reside. You
 cannot imagine my station can be, at present, free
 of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I
 may say, it is a troublesome work. But the me-
 thod, things are putting in, will facilitate the
 charge, and give an easier motion to the admini-
 stration of affairs. However, as it is some men's
 duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and
 some to reap; so it is the wisdom, as well as the
 duty,

Number of
houses in
Philadel-
phia, &c.

The far-
mers suc-
cess, &c.

W. Penn
well pleas-
ed with the
country.

And much
employed
in settling
and regu-
lating it,
&c.

1683. duty, of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and chearfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

Of the interest and property of the Free society of traders, &c.

XXXIII. "For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the President of the society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued; which is besides your four hundred acres, in the city liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark, the saw mill, for timber, and the place of the *glass house*, are so conveniently posted for water carriage, the city lot, for a *dock*, and the *whalery*, for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town *Lewis*, by it, to help your people, that, by God's blessing, the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation, and profit. I am sure, I have not turned my back upon any offer, that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do; whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen, in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the *French* people are most likely, in both respects, to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of *France*, with some able *Vinerons*, and people of the other vocation: But because, I believe, you have been entertained with this, and some other profitable subjects by your President,* I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me

Your kind cordial friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

* Nicholas Moore.

"Philadelphia, the 16th. of the Sixth month, called August, 1683."

CHAPTER VI.

The difficulty and dispute between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundaries between their territories.—A proclamation of the latter.—William Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations.—Lord Baltimore's commission to Colonel George Talbot, with a demand of the latter.—William Penn's answer to said demand.—Incursion from Maryland, attempting forcible entry.—Difficulty to restrain the Indians from strong liquors.—Names of the members of Assembly in 1684.

WILLIAM PENN's endeavours, soon after his first arrival, to cultivate a friendly and good understanding with his neighbour, the Lord *Baltimore*, and to get the boundaries, between their respective provinces, amicably determined, have already been mentioned; for which purpose likewise it appears he had appointed his relation and deputy, Captain *William Markham* to treat with the said Lord Proprietary of *Maryland*, before he arrived himself; and afterwards repeatedly used attempts, for the same end. But these endeavours had not all the desired success, which, so far as appears, might have been reasonably expected.*

1683.

The two Proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania disagree about the boundaries, &c.

See page 208, &c.

[34.]

The

* The conduct of the late Lord *Baltimore*, on this occasion, may, in part, appear from the following proclamation, dated, May 15th. 1683, viz.

“ C. *Baltimore*.

“ For as much as taking up of land by rights, within this our province of *Maryland*, hath proved not only grievous and burdensome to the inhabitants of this our said province, as well for want of such rights, upon their occasions, as for the paying for the same extravagant and extortion

1683. The concern of the Proprietary of *Pennsylvania*



Of the dispute between Penn and Baltimore, &c.

for a good, convenient and independant communication, by water, between his province and the sea, for the benefit of its trade, appears to have been his principal reason for fixing his southern boundary by charter, so far south, as the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, intending thereby to include, at least, so much of the head, or upper part, of *Chesapeake* bay, within his

tortious rates, when to be procured; but also very injurious and prejudicial to ourself, by undue and unjust probate, made of such rights, as we have seen and been informed: We do, therefore, as well for the ease, benefit, and certainty of the inhabitants of this our province, and other persons inhabiting, trading, or residing within the same, as also for the preservation of our own just right and property, hereby fully resolve, determine and ordain, that no right shall hereafter be proved, admitted, or allowed of, for the taking up of land, within our said province, as formerly, by the conditions of plantation of our late father *Cecilius*, of noble memory, hath been accustomed; but, for the encouragement of any person, or persons, adventurer or adventurers, or others, inhabiting, residing, or trading within this province, we do resolve, determine and ordain, and hereby declare, publish and make known, that any person, or persons, adventuring, trading, inhabiting, or residing within this our province, and willing to take up any land here, shall, for every fifty acres of land, he, or they shall design to take up, as aforesaid, pay, or cause to be paid, to us, or our heirs, the just quantity of one hundred pounds of tobacco, in cask, together with two shillings sterling yearly rent; unless on the sea-board side, or the *Whorekills*; for every fifty acres whereof, any person, or persons, taking up such land, shall only pay for the same, as aforesaid, *the sum of fifty pounds of tobacco, in cask, together with one shilling sterling, yearly rent*; and so proportionably for any greater, or lesser quantity; he, or they, first applying themselves to our secretaries of this our province, or other officer, or officers, thereunto appointed, and giving good and sufficient caution for the same, as to him, or them, shall seem meet: hereby willing and requiring our said secretaries, or other officer, or officers, as aforesaid, upon such caution, or security, given, to issue out warrants under the lesser seal of this province, for any quantity of land, to any person, or persons, suitor, or suitors; for the same, in manner aforesaid: and, to the end that this our will and pleasure may be made known, we do hereby strictly charge and command all and singular the Sheriffs of this our province forthwith, upon receipt hereof, to make public proclamation hereof, in the most public and convenient place, within their several and respective counties.

" Given at our city of St. Mary's, under the great seal of this our province, the 15th. day of May, in the eighth year of our dominion, &c. Annoque Domini one thousand six hundred eighty and three.

" *Vera Copia,*

" WILLIAM SMITHSON,

" *Sher. count. Dorset.*

" To the Sheriff of Dorchester county,
or his Deputy—*Thc.*"

his province, as would furnish, from thence, a 1683. good, open and sufficient communication to the ocean, as well as by the *Delaware*. The nature and state of the controversy, about this time, between the two Proprietaries, on this subject, more fully appear from the following letter of *William Penn* to the Lords of the committee of plantations, in *London*; to which board the Lord *Baltimore* seems to have been beforehand with him, viz.

“ *Philadelphia, the 14th. of the Sixth-month, 1683.*

“ THOUGH it be a duty, I humbly own, to inform the Lords of the committee of plantations, of what concerns his majesty's interest in the success of this province, I thought myself equally obliged to be discreet and cautious in doing it. To write, then, there was need, and not to trouble persons, of their honor and business, with things trivial, at least, raw and unfinished for their view. This hitherto put me by giving any account of the state of our affairs, to say nothing of the mighty difficulties, I have laboured under, in the settlement of six-and-twenty sail of people, to content, within the space of one year; which makes my case singular, and excusable, above any other of the King's plantations.

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations,
&c.

“ But because my agent has informed me that the Proprietor of *Maryland* has been early in his account of our conference about fixing our bounds, and made a narrative of my affairs, as well before, as at that time, a little to my disadvantage, and the rather, because my silence might be interpreted neglect, I am necessitated to make some defence for myself; which, as it will not be hard to make, so I hope it will be received as just.

“ I humbly say, then, first, that it seemed to me improper to trouble the Lords with my transactions with this Proprietor, till we were come to some result; which we were not: for we parted till spring; and even then were but to meet about the methods of our proceedings.

83. “ Next, This narrative was taken by the Lord’s orders, without my consent, or knowledge, in a corner of a room by one of his own attendants.

Penn’s
to the
s of
ations,

“ And, lastly, upon when notice was given of this usage, I complained to him, he promised, upon his word and honor, it should go not farther; and that it was for his own satisfaction he did it; I told him that mitigated the thing a little; but if he should divulge it before I saw and agreed to the copy, he must pardon me, if I looked upon it as a most unfair practice.—What that Lord has done, and what to call it, I leave to my betters; but the surprize and indigestion of the whole will, I hope excuse me of neglect, or disrespect: for though I am unceremonious, I would, by no means, act the rude, or undutiful.

“ This said, I humbly beg that I may give a brief narrative of the matter, as it then passed, since has been, and now stands, without the weakness and tautology his relation makes me guilty of.

time of
Penn’s
al, &c.

“ So soon as I arrived, which was on the 24th. of October last, I immediately dispatched two persons to the Lord *Baltimore*, to ask of his health, offer kind neighbourhood, and agree a time of meeting the better to establish it: While they were gone of this errand, I went to *New-York*, that I might pay my duty to the Duke, in the visit of his government and colony. At my return, which was towards the end of November, I found the messengers, whom I had sent to *Maryland*, newly arrived, and the time fixed, being the 19th. of December. I prepared myself in a few days for that province. The 11th. of the month I came to west river; where I met the Proprietor, attended suitable to his character; who took the occasion, by his civilities, to shew me the greatness of his power: The next day we had conference about our business of the bounds, both at the same table, with our respective members of council.

“ The first thing I did was to present the King’s 1683. letter; which consisted of two parts:—One, that the Lord *Baltimore* had but two degrees; and the other, that, beginning at *Watkins’s* point, he should ad-
 measure his said degrees, at 60 miles to a degree. W. Penn’s letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.
 This being read by him, first privately, then publicly, he told me, the King was greatly mistaken, and that he would not leave his patent, to follow the King’s letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand.

“ This was the substance of what he said from first to last, during the whole conference. To this I answered, the King might be misinformed rather than mistaken, and that I was afraid the mistake would fall on his side; for though his patent begins at *Watkins’s* point and goes to the fortieth degree of north latitude, yet it presumed that to lye in the 38th. else *Virginia* would be wronged, which should extend to that degree; however this I assured him, that when I petitioned the King for five degrees north latitude and that petition was referred to the Lords of the committee of plantations; at that time, it was urged by some present, that the Lord *Baltimore* had but two degrees; upon which the Lord President, turning his head to me, at whose chair I stood, said, Mr. *Penn*, *will not three degrees serve your turn?* I answered, “ *I submit both the what, and how, to the honourable board.*”

“ To this his uncle, and chancellor, returned, that to convince me his father’s grant was not by degrees, he had more of *Virginia* given him, but being planted, and the grant intending only land not planted, or possessed, but of savage natives, he left it out, that it might not forfeit the rest: Of which the Lord *Baltimore* takes no notice, in his narrative, that I remember.—But, by that answer, he can pretend nothing to *Delaware*; which was at, and before, the passing of that patent,

1683. tent, bought and planted by the *Dutch*; and so could not be given:—But, if it were, it was forfeited, for not reducing it, during twenty years, under the *English* sovereignty; of which he held it; but was at last reduced by the King, and therefore his, to give as he pleaseth.

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations,
&c.

“ Perceiving that my pressing the King’s letter was uneasy, and that I had determined myself to dispose him with utmost softness to a good compliance, I waved that of the two degrees, and pressed the admeasurement only, the next part of the letter:—For though it were two degrees and a half from *Watkins’s* point to forty degrees, yet let it be measured at sixty miles to a degree, and I would begin at forty degrees, fall as it would:—My design was, that every degree being seventy miles, I should get all that was over sixty, the proportion intended the Lord *Baltimore*, by the grant, and computation of a degree, at that time of the day:—Thus he had enjoyed the full favour intended him, and I had gained a door of great importance to the peopling and improving of his majesty’s province.

“ But he this also rejected;—I told him, it was not the love, or need, of the land, but the water; that he abounded in what I wanted, and access and harbouring, even, to excess; that I would not be thus importunate, but for the importance of the thing, to save a province; and because there was no proportion in the concern; if I were an hundred times more urgent and tenacious, the case would excuse it; because the thing insisted on was more than ninety-nine times more valuable to me than to him; to me the head, to him, the tail.—I added, that, if it were his, and he gave it me, planting it would recompence the favours, not only by laying his country between two thriving provinces, but the ships, that come yearly to *Maryland* for *tobacco*, would have the bringing of both

both our people and merchandize; because they can afford it cheaper; whereby *Maryland* would, for one age or two be the mart of trade. But this also had no other entertainment, but hopes that I would not insist on these things at our next meeting; after three days time we parted; and I returned to this province.

1683.

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations,
&c.

“ When the spring came I sent an express to pray the time and place, when and where I should meet him, to effect the business, we adjourned to, at that time. I followed close upon the messenger, that no time might be lost. But the expectation, he twice had, of the Lord *Culpepper's* visit, disappointed any meeting on our affairs, till the month called May; he then sent three gentlemen to let me know, he would meet me at the head of the bay of *Chesapeak*; I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met ten miles from *New-castle*, which is thirty from the bay. I invited him to the town, where having entertained him, as well as the town could afford, on so little notice, and finding him only desirous of speaking with me privately, I pressed that we might, at our distinct lodgings, sit severally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials; which would prevent the mistakes, or abuses, that may follow from ill designs, or ill memory; but he avoided it, saying, “ He was not well, and the weather sultry, and would return with what speed he could, reserving any other treaty to another season.”—Thus we parted, at that time. I had been before told by divers, that the said *Baltimore* had issued forth a proclamation,* to invite people, by lower prices, and greater quantities of land, to plant in the lower counties; in which the Duke's goodness had interested me, as an inseparable benefit to this whole province. I was not willing to believe it; and the being in haste, I omitted to ask him: But I had not been long

* See the
note in page
265, &c.

1683. long returned before two letters came from two judges of two of the country courts, that such a proclamation was abroad, that the people too hearken to it, but yet prayed my directions. I bade them keep their ground, and not fear, for the King would be judge. Upon this I dispatched to the Lord *Baltimore* three of my council, with the clerk of it: As they went they got an authentic copy, under the hand of one of his sheriffs, to whom an original had been directed: But, as the last civility, I would yield him, I forbade them to seem to believe any thing, but what they had from his own mouth.—Thus they delivered my letter.

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations,
&c.

“ At first, he denied any such proclamation, turning to two gentlemen of his council, who stood by, he asked them, if they remembered any such thing? They also denied it. Upon which the persons, I sent, produced the attested copy; which, refreshing their memories, they confessed there was such a proclamation.

“ But the Lord *Baltimore* told them, that it was his ancient form, and he only did it to renew his claim, not that he would encourage any to plant there. They then prayed him to call it in, lest any trouble should ensue: but he refused it.—This was during a civil treaty, without any demand made, and after the place had been many years in the quiet possession of the Duke.—What to call this I still humbly refer to my superiors. For his pretensions to those parts I have thoroughly instructed my agent; who, I hope, will be able to detect them of weakness and inconsistency. This is a true, though brief, narrative of the entertainment, I have had from that Lord, in the business between us.

“ And because I have, as in duty joined, sent an agent extraordinary, to wait upon the King, and his ministers, in the affairs of this province (so soon as I could make any settlement in it) I shall only
humbly

humbly pray leave to hint at two or three things, 1683.
relating to the business depending between this lord
and myself, about finding the fortieth degree of
north latitude.

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations
&c.

I. " That I have common fame on my side, grounded upon ancient and constant judges, that the fortieth degree of north latitude lyeth about *Boles's-isle*. This the Lord *Baltimore* himself, hath not denied; and the country confesseth; and I shall, when required, prove by some able masters of ships.

II. " If this were an error, it is grounded upon such skill and instruments, as gave measure to the time, in which his patent was granted:—and if he hath got upon *Virginia* by that error, he should not get upon me by an exacter knowledge, considering that *Carolina*, which endeth by degrees, would as much advance upon *Virginia*, if the reputed latitude of unprejudiced times should take no place;—for by advancing her bounds twenty miles, by a new instrument, beyond the place; which hath been generally taken for thirty-six and an half degrees; and *Virginia* not being equally able to advance upon *Maryland*, because of its being at a place certain, she will be greatly narrowed between both.

III. " I, therefore, most humbly pray, that the judgment of ancient times, by which persons at the distance of *England* from *America*, have governed themselves, may conclude that the lord's bounds, or, that he may measure his two degrees according to the scale and computations of those times, which was sixty miles to a degree; or, if it be allowed, that he had not his grant by degrees, that, at last, I might not lose the benefit of admeasurement, as before mentioned, from *Watkins's-point*, in whatever degree of latitude that shall be found, to the fortieth degree of north latitude, which I humbly take the more courage to press, because a province lyeth at stake, in the success of it.

1683. " I have only humbly to add, that the province hath a prospect of an extraordinary improvement, as well by divers sorts of strangers, as *English* subjects; that, in all acts of justice, we name and venerate the King's authority; that I have followed the Bishop of *London's* counsel, by buying, and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence. I return my most humble thanks for your former favors, in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you. I am most ready to obey all your commands, according to the obligations of them, and beseech you to take this province into your protection, under his Majesty, and him, whom his goodness hath made Governor of it, into your favours, for that I am, with most sincere devotion,

W. Penn's
letter to the
Lords of
plantations,
&c.

Noble Lords,

*Your thankful faithful, friend
and servant, to my power,*

WILLIAM PENN.

The nature and state of this controversy, about this time, further appear, by the following papers, viz.

Lord Bal-
timore's
commission
to col. G.
Talbot, &c.

" Charles Lord Baltimore, *absolute Lord and Proprietary of the province of Maryland and Avalon, &c.*

" To our dear cousin and counsellor, Colonel *George Talbot, Esquire.*

(L. S.)

" REPOSING special confidence in your wisdom and integrity, I hereby nominate and appoint and impower you to repair forthwith to the *Skulkil* at *Delaware*; and, in my name, to demand of *William Penn, Esquire*, or of his deputy, all that part of the land, on the west side of the said river, that lyeth to the southward of the fortieth degree, northern latitude, according to an east line, run out from two observations, the one taken the 10th.

of

of June, 1682, and the other, the 27th. of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter of the 2d. of April 1681; which commands were, at that time, rejected by the agents of the said *Penn* (notwithstanding that by several letters and writings under their hands it may appear they promised a compliance with his majesty's commands aforesaid) and for which you shall do herein, this shall be to you a sufficient power.—Given under my hand and seal, the 17th. day of September, anno 1683."

" C. BALTIMORE.

" *Vera copia attestata per me,*
George Talbot."

" By virtue of his lordship's commission, whereof the above is a true copy, I, *George Talbot*, do, in the name of the right honourable *Charles Lord Baltimore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of *Maryland* and *Avalon*, demand of you *Nicholas Moore*, deputy to *William Penn*, Esquire, all the land lying on the west side of *Delaware* river, and to the southward of the fortieth degree of northerly latitude, according to a line run east, from two observations, the one taken the 10th. of June, 1682, and the other on the 27th. of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter, the 2d. of April, 1681; which commands were at that time rejected by the said *William Penn*'s agents, notwithstanding that by several letters and other writings, under their hands, it appears that they promised compliance to his majesty's commands aforesaid.—The land so claimed by me for the Lord *Baltimore*'s use, being part of the said province of *Maryland*, granted to his lordship's father by King *Charles* the first, of sacred memory, and now wrongfully detained by the said *William Penn*, from his lordship. And, in witness, that I make this demand, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 24th. day of September, 1683."

Talbot's
demand

" GEORGE TALBOT." (L. S.)

1683. *William Penn*, being at *New-York*, at the time
 of this demand, after his return, made the follow-
 ing answer, viz.

W. Penn at
 New York
 at this time.

*An answer to a demand, made to Nicholas Moore,
 as my deputy, by Colonel George Talbot, the 24th.
 of September, 1683, in pursuance of a commission,
 from the Lord Baltimore, Proprietary of Maryland
 and Avalon, dated the 17th. of the same month.*

W. Penn's
 answer to
 the Lord
 Baltimore's
 demand.

“ The demand being grounded upon the *com-
 mission*, I will take things in their order, and begin
 with the commission.

“ The Lord *Baltimore* doth commiffionate Colo-
 nel *Talbot* to go to the west side of the *Skulkil* to
 demand of *William Penn*, Esquire, or his deputy,
 all that part of land on the west side of that river,
 that lyeth to the south of the fortieth degree of
 northerly latitude.

I. “ I answer, it seems very slight, abrupt and
 unprecedented for any person, that is in the quality
 of a Proprietary of a country, to send to another
 in the same circumstance, any extraordinary mes-
 senger, agent, or commissioner, without some let-
 ter, or memorial, to state the *demand*, with the
 reasons of it; the practice of the greatest princes,
 and might therefore (I conceive) be the condescen-
 sion of lesser seigniories.

II. “ In the next place, *William Penn*, Esquire,
 and the said *Penn*, (the language of the commission)
 is not my *American* style, nor that which belongs
 to me, in the matter in question; for, as such, I
 keep no deputies.

III. “ I live not on the west side of *Skulkil*, nor
 any deputy of mine; and I conceive Colonel *Talbot*
 could not, by that commission, come to the east
 side, to make his demand; which yet he did.

IV. “ I was absent, and at *New-York*, when
 this commissioner came; and I never did, nor never
 will, commission any deputy to treat and conclude
 away my inheritance, without my particular di-

rection and command; though, if I were to go for *England*, I would not disown the laws, he should make in my absence, for public good, when I came back.

1683.
W. Penn's
answer to
the Lord
Baltimore's
demand.

V. "Colonel *Talbot* is directed, in the commission, to make the demand, according to a line, said to be run, in obedience to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d. of April, 1681; but I say, that no line is yet run, in obedience to his majesty's command;—for the letter expressly saith, that the Lord *Baltimore*, or his agent, shall, together with my agent, agree to the latitude, and then run the line, and bound the provinces accordingly; which is not yet done: For those observations, and the line run by them, are performed by the Lord *Baltimore*, and his agents only, and therefore not according to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d. of April, 1681, nor, in my opinion, common equity; for I knew nothing of them.

VI. "To say (as his commission doth) that my commissioners refused to comply with the said letter, is hard for me to do; since the chiefest of them brought it in my favour. But the truth is, (if they say true, and circumstances favour them) the thing is improbable; for the Lord *Baltimore* would have had them agreed to have taken an observation upon the river *Delaware*, when as the King's letter (stating my bounds, as they are expressed in my patent) begins twelve miles above *New-castle*, upon the west side of *Delaware* river, and so to run to the 43d. degree of north latitude, upon the said river; which makes it impossible, that the Lord *Baltimore* could come within those limits to take an observation, or run a line, in pursuance of his majesty's commands, in the said letter; since taking an observation on *Delaware* river (which, say they, he pressed) is a plain violation of it. They further say, that they never refused, but pressed the taking of an observation,
according

1683. according to his majesty's letter; which is grounded
 on the bounds of my patent; and when the Lord
Baltimore and my agent had agreed to meet at
New-castle, and to proceed according to his ma-
 jesty's letter, 'tis true that my agent came not,
 and as true, faith he, that the reason was the Lord
Baltimore called immediately at *Chichester*, alias,
Marcus Hooks, as he went to *New-castle*, and for-
 bad the inhabitants to pay me *Quit-rent*, and
 named the place by a new name, before any line
 was run, or any observation agreed; which being
 a declared breach of the King's commands, and
 their treaty, in the opinion of my agent, he re-
 fused to meet the next day about a matter, the
 Lord *Baltimore* had, in such a manner, already
 determined.

W. Penn's
 answer to
 the Lord
Baltimore's
 demand.

VII. " But what fault foever they were in,
 sure I am, that, before an observation was agreed,
 or any line was run, I came in, and suddenly after
 waited upon the Lord *Baltimore*. I presented him
 with another letter from his majesty; which he
 was so far from complying with, that he looked
 upon the King, as mistaken, and set his patent in
 direct opposition; and to this day would never
 hear of complying with it, in either of the two
 points it related to; that is to say, his having but
 two degrees, and that beginning them at *Watkins's*
 point, he should admeasure them, at sixty miles to
 a degree, to terminate the north bounds of his
 province. Now, in my opinion, it was not pro-
 per to ground his proceedings upon a former let-
 ter, in neglect of a later advice and command
 from his majesty: Nor doth it look very just to
 make the caution, or neglect of an agent, in the
 absence of his principal, a reason to proceed against
 his principal, when present with other instructions,
 without due regard had to him, or his allegations.
 And I must say, that, at *New-castle*, when I pre-
 sented the Lord *Baltimore* to sit in one house with his
 Council,

Council, and I would fit with mine in another, 1683. that we might treat by written memorials under our hands, to prevent mistakes, ill memory, or ill will, he refused, alledging, he was not well; I did then tell him, I would wave what force or advantage I thought I had by the second letter, and proceed to meet him at the place he desired, which was the head of *Chesapeak* bay, and there try to find the fortieth degree of north latitude, provided he would first please to set me a gentlemanly price; so much per mile, in case I should have no part of the bay by latitude; that so I might have a back port to this province. 'This I writ, according to his desire, and sent after him, to tell he refused, but started an exchange of part of that bay for the lower counties, on the bay of *Delaware*. This, I presume, he knew I could not do; for his *Royal Highness* had the one half; and I did not prize the thing, I desired, at such a rate. Soon after this meeting, I understood that he had issued forth a proclamation some time before, to invite people to plant those parts in my possession, under his *Royal Highness*; and that also before any demand had been made, or our friendly treaty ended; which I took so ill, in right of his *Royal Highness*, and that which his goodness had made mine, that I sent commissioners (first to know the truth of it from his own mouth, before I would credit the intelligence, I had received, and, if true) to complain of the breach of our friendly treaty, and that it might be repaired; which he hath taken so ill (how deservedly let the whole world judge) that he hath sent me letters of a very coarse style; such, as indeed, could not be answered without those terms, which unbecome men in our public stations; who, in the midst of all disagreements, ought to manage themselves with coolness and exact civility; and, if, in this, I have, at any time, been short, let me but know it, and I, that think it a meanness of spirit to justify an error, when

W. Penn's
answer to
the Lord
Baltimore's
demand.

1683. when committed, am not too stiff to ask him pardon. Here I left him, expecting his news when he came to the head of the bay, in September, as I thought he promised me; but instead of that, an observation is taken, a line run, and trees marked, without my notice, and a demand made thereupon, and all grounded on his majesty's letter of the 2d. of April 1681; in which I must again say, I find no such direction, which bringeth me to the demand itself.

W. Penn's
answer to
the Lord
Baltimore's
demand.

VIII. "To the *demand*, viz. Of all that land on *Delaware* river to the south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, I have this to say, that 'tis very odd the demand should be made several months after the proclamation was put forth, to encourage people to plant most of the parts demanded; but much more strange, that, after the Lord *Baltimore* had declared under his hand, that he did not by that intend to break our amicable treaty, he should, without further provocation given, proceed to demand those parts! Certainly, this was not intended to continue our friendship; nor did it look with common decency, that Colonel *Talbot* should not think me worth leaving a letter at my house, where he lodged, when he went away, as well as the land worth such a demand. But, indeed, his carriage all along shews, he came to defie me, not treat me, like either a neighbour, or gentleman. A sudden change amusing the King's people, under my charge, by threats, or drawing them off their obedience, by degrading mine; and invitations to the Lord *Baltimore's* government. This I found at my return, in his conduct (though not in his commission) as some of the people do aver.

IX. "But, in the next place, the Lord *Baltimore* hath no warrant to run his line to the river of *Delaware*, neither by the King's letter, nor his own patent, if he peruseth them well, where he will find the *bay*, but not the *river*, of *Delaware*.

X. "The land demanded is not a part of the province of *Maryland*, as is expressed in the demand; for it is in the jurisdiction of *Delaware*, (alias, *Newcastle*) which is by several acts of the Assembly of *Maryland*, distinguished and disowned from being any part of that province.

1683.

W. Penn's
answer to
the Lord
Baltimore's
demand.

XI. "The Lord *Baltimore* hath no land given him by patent, but what was unplanted of any but savage nations; and this west side of the river *Delaware*, before, and at, the passing of his patent, was actually bought and possessed by a civil and christian people, in amity with the crown of *England*; and by the treaty of peace in 1653, between the *English* and *Dutch*, it was part of one article of the treaty, that the *Dutch* should enjoy those territories, in *America*, of which this was a member; and we do know, foreign actions of that time and kind continued firm after his majesty's restoration; for *Jamaica* still remains to us; and *Dunkirk* itself was not rendered, but sold.—To be short, I conceive, it is more for the Lord *Baltimore's* honour and safety, that it should be so, as I say, than otherwise:—For, if he claimeth what was possessed of the *Dutch*, on *Delaware* river, south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, as what was lawfully under the *English* sovereignty, how cometh he to suffer part of his province to remain under a strange and foreign sovereignty to that, under which he held his claim?

XII. "But, if the Lord *Baltimore* had a just pretence to this river, and former possession too, which he never had, yet being by the *Dutch* taken, and by the King taken from the *Dutch*, it becomes the conqueror's:—For, it is known, that, if any of our *English* merchants ships be taken, and possessed but twenty-four hours, by an enemy, if retaken by the crown, they are prize; and this place was more than twenty-four years in the hands of

the

1683. the *Dutch*.* This made his *Royal Highness* take out fresh patents, upon the opinion of Council (since the last conquest) for his territories, in *America*. Nor is the Lord *Baltimore* in the condition of an ordinary subject; (in whose favour something might be alledged) for he hath *regalia*, *principality*, though subordinate to the King, as his style shews; and I conceive he is bound to keep his own dominions, or else lose them; and if lost to a foreigner, and taken by the sovereign, the sovereign hath the right; another conqueror could plead. This is the present *jus gentium*, and law of nations; which in foreign acquets prevaileth; and the King, accordingly has granted it, under his great seal of *England*, to his *Royal Highness*. And, if there were no truth in this, but the Lord *Baltimore's* patent were title good enough for what was actually another's before, and which he never enjoyed since, *Connecticut* colony might put in for *New-York*, as reasonably as the Lord *Baltimore* can for *Delaware*, their patent having that part of the *Dutch* territories within its bounds, on the same mistake.†

XIII. "I shall conclude with this, that the King, by articles of peace, between him and the states of *Holland*, is the allowed owner of all that territory, in *America*, once called *New Netherland*; of which this is a part. He hath been graciously pleased to grant it by two patents, and this, in controversy, by one, under the great seal of *England*, to his dearest brother, *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, &c. And his *Royal Highness*,
out

* In the original is the following note in the margin, *vis.*

— "And not demanded of them; and the *Sussex* and *Fins*, that settled on *Christeen-creek*; which is about four miles from *New Castle*, and where they have been about years, never heard of a demand, that was ever made to them, by the lord *Baltimore's* father, nor himself; as the old men among them do declare."

† (Note in the margin.) "Which is yet out of dispute from the lord *Baltimore's* own patent, that faith, *New England* begins where he ceaseth; which being at 40 degrees, north latitude, it follows that *New York*, and part of *East* and *West Jersey* and *Pennsylvania* will fall to *New England*."

out of his princely goodness, and singular regard, 1683.
 he was pleased to have, to the services and losses
 of my deceased father, hath interested me in part
 of the same; so that he is lord, (and I am tenant)
 of him I hold, and to him I pay my rent; and
 for him I improve, as well as myself; and, there-
 fore, I must take leave to refer the Lord *Baltimore*
 to his *Royal Highness*; who is a prince, doubtless,
 of too much honour, to keep any man's right,
 and of too great resolution, to deliver up his own;
 whose example I am resolved to follow.”
 “*Philadelphia, 4th. of October, 1683.*”

W. Penn's
 answer to
 the Lord
Baltimore's
 demand.

Such appears to have been the state of this con-
 troversy, at this time. The year 1684 commenced
 with an incursion of a party of people from *Mary-*
land, making forceable entry on several plantati-
 ons in the *lower counties*: upon which the Gover-
 nor and Council, at *Philadelphia*, sent a copy of
 the preceding answer to the Lord *Baltimore's* de-
 mand, with orders to *William Welch*, to use his
 influence, for reinstating the persons, who had
 been dispossessed; and, in case mild measures would
 not do, he was directed legally to prosecute the
 invaders: but the former method appears, at pre-
 sent, to have answered the intention; for no more
 of this kind of conduct was heard of till the next
 month; when some of the inhabitants were afresh
 threatened with the same outrages, in case of their
 refusal to be under the Lord *Baltimore*. The go-
 vernment issued a declaration, shewing *William*
Penn's title, and such other requisites as were
 thought most likely to prevent such illegal pro-
 ceedings in future.*

1684.
 Incursion
 from *Mary-*
land, &c.

It

* In this month the Council received a letter from *Samuel Sands*, pur-
 porting: “That col. George Talbot, with three musqueteers, went to the
 houses of the widow *Ogle*, *Jonas Erskin*, and *Andreas Tittle*, telling them,
 that if they would not forthwith yield obedience to the lord *Baltimore*,
 and own him to be their proprietor, and pay rent to him, he would turn
 them out of their houses, and take their land from them,” &c.

1684.

The Indians still get strong liquors from some of the settlers, &c.

Great difficulty of restraining the Indians from strong liquors.

It is likewise observable, about this time, that the methods then used, and the law, which had been made, to prevent strong liquors from being sold to the *Indians*, did not fully answer the intention; for these people, notwithstanding, through some mean and unprincipled persons among the *European* settlers, in a clandestine manner, still procured them. The Governor, therefore, seeing the great difficulty, if not the absolute impossibility, of debarring them from these liquors, called a number of them together, and proposed, that, on condition they would be content to be punished, as the *English* were, in consequence of drunkenness, they should not be hindered from the use of them? This they readily agreed to; and would, probably, have been willing to endure much greater punishment, on these terms; so great is their love of strong liquors! The best methods, that prudence could dictate, had been used, as it was thought, and much advice given them to inculcate an abhorrence of the vice of drunkenness, but too generally without that effect, which was desired; their appetite having so much the prevalence over their reason, and their sensual desires, above their better understanding, that, while they saw and acknowledged the means used for their real interest, in this affair, to be good, they lived in the continued violation of them!

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

The Proprietary obliged to return to England.—

Commissionates the Provincial Council to act in his absence, &c.—His commission to the Judges, &c.—

William Penn's valedictory letter to his friends in Pennsylvania from on board the ship, at his departure.—Oldmixon's account.—Thomas Langhorne.

Death of Charles the II. and succession of James the II. to the crown of England, with William Penn's interest and service at court.—Extract of

a letter from the Proprietary on the subject, &c.—

Names of the members of Assembly in 1685.—

The dispute between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundary of the territories decided, &c.—Boundary lines between the coun-

ties of the province ascertained.—Proceedings of the Assembly against N. Moore, J. Bridges and P.


Robinson.—Letter of the Proprietary to the magistrates, respecting some abuses.—Assembly's let-

ter to the Proprietary respecting N. Moore, &c.

William Penn in Holland and Germany.—Extracts from his letters.—The province needs his presence.

Means used to instruct the Indians, and to restrain them from strong liquors, &c.

WILLIAM PENN continued in *Pennsylvania* 1684. and sometimes in the adjacent province of *New-Jersey*, and other neighbouring places, till the beginning of the summer, this year, settling and establishing the government, and assisting his friends, the *Quakers*, in regulating the affairs and œconomy

1684.  economy of their religious society, in these parts; where, most probably, he would have resided much longer, had not the dispute, between him and the Lord *Baltimore*, before mentioned, and other important affairs, called him home, to *England*; where his enemies, taking the advantage of his absence, threw his affairs there into a critical situation, and rendered his presence absolutely necessary, in that nation.

W. Penn
necessitated
to return to
England.

Upon this he signed a *commission*, empowering the *Provincial Council*, to act, in the government in his stead; of which *Thomas Lloyd* was president; who also had a commission to keep the great seal.* *Nicholas Moore, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner* and *John Eckley* were commissioned to be Provincial Judges, for two years; their commission was in these words, *viz.*

W. Penn
commissi-
onates the
officers of
govern-
ment, &c.

“ *William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging,*

Commissi-
on to the
judges.

“ To my trusty and loving friends, *Nicholas Moore, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner* and *John Eckley*, greeting:

“ Reposing”

Note.—3d. mo. 1684,—the Names of the Members of Assembly, were:

<i>For Philadelphia.</i>	<i>For Chester.</i>	<i>For Bucks.</i>
Nicholas Moore, <i>Speaker</i> ,	Joshua Hastings,	William Beakes,
John Songhurst,	Robert Wade,	John Clowes,
Francis Fincher,	John Blunston,	Richard Hough,
Lacy Cock,	George Maris,	John Otter,
Joseph Growden,	Thomas Usher,	Edmond Bennet.
John Hart.	Henry Maddock.	
<i>For Suffex.</i>	<i>For New-Castle.</i>	<i>For Kent.</i>
John Roads,	James Williams,	John Briggs,
Henry Bowman,	John Darby,	John Glover,
Hercules Shepherd,	William Grant,	John Curtis,
Samuel Gray,	Gasparus Hernan,	William Sherwood,
William Emmet,	Abraham Man,	James Wells,
Henry Stretcher.	John White.	William Berry.

* *Caleb Pusey*, who was long of the Council, and one of the first settlers, in his memoirs of the first settlement of *Pennsylvania*, in manuscript, says,—“ It may not be amiss also to mention, that when the Governor left us, the first time, in the year 1684, he left his power of government in the hands of five Commissioners, of whom our worthy friend, *Thomas Lloyd*, was president; who afterwards was several years, Deputy Governor,” &c. M. S.

“ Reposing special confidence in your justice, wisdom and integrity, I do, by virtue of the King’s authority, derived unto me, constitute you, *Provincial Judges*, for the province and territories, and any legal number of you, a provincial court of judicature, both fixt and circular, as is by law directed; giving you, and every of you, full power to act therein according to the same, strictly charging you, and every of you, to do justice to all, and of all degrees, without delay, fear, or reward; and I do hereby require all persons within the province and territories aforesaid, to give you due obedience and respect, belonging to your station, in the discharge of your duties: This commission to be in force during two years, ensuing the date hereof; you, and every of you, behaving yourselves well therein, and acting according to the same. 1684.

“ *Given at Philadelphia, the 4th. of the Sixth month 1684, being the thirty-sixth year of the King’s reign, and the fourth of my government,*

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

*Thomas Lloyd, James Claypoole** and *Robert Turner* were empowered to sign patents, and grant warrants for lands; and *William Clark* had a general commission, to be justice of the peace throughout the province and territories. Other Justices being likewise appointed, and all things settled in a promising and prosperous condition, the Proprietary, on the 12th. of the Sixth month, 1684, sailed for *England*.†

Other officers appointed.


The Proprietary sails for England.

But,

* James Claypoole had been a merchant in London.


† *Oldmixon*, mentioned in the notes, page 244, says,

“ This friendship and civility of the *Pennsylvanian Indians* are imputed to Mr. Penn, the Proprietor’s extreme humanity and bounty to them; he having laid out some thousands of pounds, to instruct, support and oblige them. There are ten *Indian* nations within the limits of his province; and the number of souls of these barbarians is computed to about 6000.—The number of the inhabitants of *Swedish*, or *Dutch*, extraction, may be about 3000 souls.”—“ Having made a league of amity with nineteen *Indian* nations, between them and all the *English* in *America*—

1684. But prior to his entirely leaving the country, he
 writ from on board the ship, in which he sailed,
 He writes from on board the ship, &c. the following most affectionate farewell, to be communicated to those, whom he left behind; which, as a memorial of the father of this country, among many others, may, in part, shew to posterity, his real concern for the true happiness of the people, both in their temporal and spiritual capacity, and the prosperity of the country in every respect, viz.

“ For *Tho. Lloyd, J. Claypoole, J. Simcock, Ch. Taylor* and *J. Harrison*, to be communicated in meetings in *Pennsylvania*, &c. among friends:

“ *Dear Friends,*

His valedictory letter, &c. “ MY love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or, bring it to an end:—I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterance. I bless you, in the name and power of the Lord; and my God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him, in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your first care, how you may glorify God in your undertakings: for to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying and improving will be sanctified;
 *but if any forget God, and call not upon his name, in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them; and they shall know who it is, that judgeth the children of men.*

“ Oh, now you are come to a quiet land, provoke not the Lord to trouble it: And now liberty
 and

rica; having established good laws, and seen his capital so well inhabited, that there were then near 300 houses, and 2500 souls in it, besides twenty other townships, he returned to *England*, leaving *William Markham*, Esquire, Secretary, *Mr. Thomas Holme*, Surveyor-General; and the administration in the hands of the Council, whose president was *Thomas Lloyd*, Esquire, who, by virtue of his office, held the government several years,” &c.

OLDMIXON.

and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon his shoulders, in all your spirits; that you may rule for him, under whom the princes of this world will, one day, esteem it their honor to govern and serve, in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apostles did, of old, *"What manner of persons ought we to be, in all godly conversation."* Truly, the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you, as to the discharge of yourselves, in your present stations; many eyes being upon you; and remember, that, as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so, of all government, to behold us exemplary and christian, in the use of that, will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many, on that account, prejudiced. Oh, that you may see and know that service, and do it, for the Lord, in this your day:—

1684.
W. Penn's
valedictory
letter.


W. Penn's
valedictory
letter.

“ And, thou, *Philadelphia*, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

“ Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil, that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayst be preserved to the end:—My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power;—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance

He prays
for Phila-
delphia,&c.

Note, In the year 1684, among other friends and settlers, from *Westmoreland*, *Thomas Langborne* arrived in *Pennsylvania*, and settled in *Bucks county*, about *Middletown*; where then dwelt *Nicholas Walne* and others. He was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*; and of whom there is a very excellent and extraordinary character, in *M. S.* from Friends at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, by way of certificate, on his removal to this country. He died a few years after his arrival.—His son, *Jeremiah Langborne* was afterwards Chief Justice of the province.

1684.  membrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—the God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace.

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“ So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you;—so says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ *From on board the Ketch Endeavour,*
your, the Sixth month, 1684.” }

Death of
K. Charles
the second,
&c.

In England, on the sixth of the Twelfth month this year (1684) died King *Charles* the second; and was succeeded by his brother, *James*, Duke of *York*, a professed *Papist*.*—The people were there-

* The Proprietary in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, President of the Council, dated, “ *London* the 16th. of the First month, 1684-5,” writes thus on this affair, *viz.*

—“ The King is dead; and the Duke succeeds peaceably. He was well on the First-day night, being the first of February (so called;) about eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways, or sides; and he gave a shrick, and fell as dead; and so remained some hours; they opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with red-hot *frying-pans*:—He returned, and continued till Sixth-day noon; but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged; prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world; The Duke appearing mighty humble and sorrowful;—’twas a loss, with his gain:—He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom.—The present King was proclaimed about three o’clock that day; a proclamation followed, with the King’s speech, to maintain the church and state, as established; to keep property and use clemency.—Tonnage and poundage, with the excise, are revived, *de bene esse*, till the parliament meet.—One is now chusing;—The people of *Westminster* just gone by, to chuse.—It sits the 19th. of the third month next. In *Scotland*, one next month.—Severities continue still; but some ease to us faintly promised.—Be careful that no indecent speeches pass against the government; for the King going, with his Queen, publickly to *Masi*, in *Whitehall*, gives occasion.—He declared he concealed himself, to obey his brother, and that now he would be above board; which we like the better, on many accounts.—I was with him and told him so;—but withall, hoped *We* should come in for a share;—He smiled, and said, he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion:—And till his coronation, the 23d. when he and his consort are together, to be crowned, no hopes of release; and till the Parliament no hopes of any fixt liberty.—My business, I would hope, is better.—The late King, the papists will have, died a *Roman Catholic*; for he refused (after his usual way of evading uneasy things, with unpreparedness first, and then weakness) the church of England’s communion. Bishop *Kew*, of *Wells*, pressing him, that it

thereupon filled with great apprehensions and 1684. fears, lest, according to the usual practice of those religious devotees, who would compel all people under their power, to their own mode of religion, as in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, he should endeavour, by the ruin of the *Protestant*,

would be to his comfort, and that of his people, to see he died of that religion, he had made profession of living; but it would not do:—and once all but the duke, Earl of *Bath*, and Lord *Feverham*, were turned out, and one *Huddlesone*, a *Romish Priest*, was seen about that time, near the chamber.—This is most of our news.—The popish lords and gentry go to *Whitehall*, to mass, daily; and the *Tower*, (or *Royal Chapel*) is crammed (by vying) with the protestant lords and gentry:—The late King's children, even, by the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, go thither.—Our King stands more upon his terms, than the other, with *France*; and tho' he has not his brother's abilities, he has great discipline and industry.—Alas! the world is running over to you; and great quantities together is to put the sale of lands out of my own hands, after I have spent what I got by my own, on the public service: for I am £3,000 worse in my estate, than at first; I can say it before the Lord; I have only the comfort of having approved myself a faithful steward, to my understanding, and ability; and yet, *I hope, my children shall receive it, in the love of yours, when we are gone.*"

The rest of this letter consists principally of salutations to the people, in general, both of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, and also to divers particulars, by name; with some instructions or directions of a more private nature;—but as the names of such families as the Proprietary expressed this particular respect to, may, at this time, be acceptable to some, now to see, they here follow, as transcribed from his own hand, omitting the rest, *viz.*

—"Dearly salute me to dear friends, in their meetings, and particularly to dear John Simcock, Christopher Taylor, J. Harrison, J. Claypoole, T. Janny, William Yardley, Thomas Brasby, William Wood, Thomas Ellis, J. Songhurst, John Moon, J. Blunston, Joseph Growden, J. Head, G. Jones, G. Painter, H. Lewis, T. Howell, J. B. and the rest of the Welsh Friends;—Captain Owen, &c.—Thomas Fitzwater, James Barnes, B. Wilcocks, J. Goodson, Thomas Bowman, Widow Fincher, W. Salloway, J. Alloway, R. Wade, R. Turner, Samuel Carpenter, J. Southern, William Clark, with their families; and all friends on our side, and the other too (*viz.* *Jersey*) particularly, J. Gosling, Anne Jennings, S. Budd, W. Biddle, S. Cooper, R. Stacy and Mahlon, T. Lambert, and widow Welsh.—Dr. Moore, J. C. A. Man, P. Aldricks, W. Gueft, J. White, W. Durvall.—Salute me to the Swedes, Captain Cock, old Peter Cock, and Rambo, and their sons, the Swanfons, Andrew Binkson, P. Yoakum and the rest of them:—Their ambassadour here dined with me the other day."—&c.

"Keep up the people's hearts and love," &c.—"I hope to be with them next fall, if the Lord prevent not;—I long to be with you; No temptations prevail to fix me here;—the Lord send us a good meeting, Amen."—&c.

Note, By a warrant to President Lloyd and the Council, dated at *London*, the 18th. of the First-month, 1684-5, William Penn authorized them to commission his cousin, *William Markham*, to be secretary of the province and territories, and his secretary, as proprietary.

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1685. This division was, by the King, in Council, ordered immediately to be made; but its execution being many years delayed, Queen *Ann* was twice petitioned for a further hearing; which being obtained, the first order of council, of 1685, was, by the Queen, ratified and confirmed, in all its parts, and commanded to be put in execution, without further delay.

But delayed the execution, &c.

The boundary lines, &c.

In consequence hereof this territory, which before had been divided by *William Penn*, into the three counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, became bounded on the east, by the river and bay of *Delaware*, and partly by the ocean; on the south, by an east and west line, drawn a few miles south of the *Indian* river, in latitude about thirty-eight and an half; which line extends halfway between the ocean, on the east, and *Chesapeak* bay, on the west, thirty-five miles; and from thence on the west of the said counties, by a right line nearly in a north direction to the south boundary of *Pennsylvania*; which is in a parallel of about fifteen miles due south of *Philadelphia*;* so that the said line touch the arch of a circle, drawn at twelve miles distance from *New-Castle* to the river *Delaware*; and thence from the end of the said line, on the north eastward, to the river *Delaware*, by the said arch.

Hence the breadth of these counties, east and west, continues to decrease, from their south boundary, where it is thirty-five miles, till it is only about twelve miles, at, or near, the border of

Lords offered it as their opinion, that, for avoiding further differences, the tract of land, lying between the river and bay of *Delaware* and the eastern sea on one side, and *Chesapeak* bay, on the other, he divided into two equal parts, by a line, from the latitude of cape *Henlopen*, to the fortieth degree of north latitude; (the south boundary of *Pennsylvania* by charter) and that one half thereof, lying towards the Bay of *Delaware* and the Eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his Majesty (viz. to King *James*, who granted it *W. Penn*, when Duke of *York*) and that the other half remain to the Lord *Baltimore*, as comprised in his charter."

* For the final settlement of the boundary between the province of *Pennsylvania*, and *Maryland*, see afterwards, under the year 1732.

of *Pennsylvania*. The said north and south line, 1685. from latitude thirty-eight degrees, thirty minutes, to thirty-nine degrees, forty-four minutes, is about eighty-five miles; but, in consideration of the space, included in the north part of the circle's arch, the whole territory may, probably, be near ninety miles in length; this, multiplied by twenty-three, the mean breadth, gives 2070 square miles; which last number, multiplied by 640, the number of acres in one square mile, produces 1,324,800, or above one million and a quarter of acres, in this territory.

Content of the lower counties, in square miles, and acres.

At a Council held in *Philadelphia*, on the first day of the Second-month, 1685,—Present *Thomas Lloyd*, President, and nine others,—the lines of separation between the county of *Philadelphia*, and those of *Bucks* and *Chester*, were confirmed, according to the Proprietary's mind, signified to some of his friends, before he left the province.*

Boundaries of the province-counties ascertained.

Nicholas Moore from *London*, one of the provincial judges, being first in commission, took place, as prior judge; or in the style of later times, as *Chief Justice* of the province, and was a member of Assembly.† Though he appears to have been

* For a description of these boundaries, see the chorographical part of this history, in the general view of the province near the conclusion.

† The Assembly had before this, on the 13th. of the Third-month, shewed an instance of their own authority, in expelling, or rather suspending, one of their members, during the session, viz. *Johs Bridges*, of Kent county, for contemptuous language to the house, expressed in Assembly, and refusing to make submission; but upon his altering his mind, the next day, and making acknowledgment, &c. for his offence, he was reinstated.

Votes of Assembly.

And on the 18th. Patrick Robinson, clerk of the provincial circular courts, being admitted into the House of Assembly, and requested to produce the records of said courts; but he denying the same, and joining with *Moore*, was, for his contempt of the authority of the House, disobedience to their orders, and abusing the Assembly, committed to the Sheriff's custody, during the pleasure of the house, and voted "A public enemy to the province of *Pennsylvania* and territories thereof, and a violator of the privileges of the freemen, in Assembly met."

Ibid.

1685.

The particulars of this impeachment do not appear, &c.

I find nothing on record what these articles, or crimes and misdemeanors particularly were; which, undoubtedly, could not be without real foundation: but, from circumstances, it seems reasonable to apprehend there might have been some animosities and disagreement, or misunderstanding among some of the persons in authority, at this time, by which things might have been aggravated: this appears, in part, from Moore's obstinacy, in refusing to appear before the Council, and also from some letters of the Proprietary, in which he seems not to have been well pleased with part of these proceedings against him.* For *N. Moore*, after this,

all such bills, as we judged meet to pass into laws: and impeached *Nicholas Moore*, a member of the Assembly, of ten articles, containing divers high crimes and misdemeanours; and, in the presence of the President and Provincial Council, made very clear proof of the said articles.

"We have had the person of *Patrick Robinson* under restraint, for divers insolencies and affronts unto the Assembly;—but there was a right and good understanding betwixt the President, Council and Assembly, and a happy and friendly farewell.

"Dear and honoured Sir, the honor of God, the love of your person, and the preservation of the peace and welfare of the government were, we hope, the only center, to which all our actions did tend. And although the wisdom of the Assembly thought fit to humble that aspiring and corrupt minister of state, *Nicholas Moore*; yet, to you, dear Sir, and to the happy success of your affairs, our hearts are open and our hands ready, at all times to subscribe ourselves, in the name of ourselves and all the freemen we represent,

"Your obedient and faithful freemen,

"JOHN WHITE, *Speaker*."

"P. S. Honoured Sir, we know your wisdom and goodness will make a candid construction of all our actions, and that it shall be out of the power of malicious tongues to separate betwixt our Governor and his freemen, who extremely long for your presence, and speedy arrival of your person."

* In one of these letters, dated Worminghurst, the 1st. of the Twelfth Month, 1686, to Thomas Lloyd, he says,

"—Since my return from *Germany* and *Holland*, where I had blessed service for the Lord, I have visited the north and north-west parts of this kingdom; as *Oxfordshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, *Bilhoprick* and *Yorkshire*; and the Lord was with me, in a sweet and melting life, to my great joy and Friends' refreshment."

"—I rejoice that God has preserved your health so well, and that his blessings are upon the earth; but grieved at the bottom of my heart for the heats and disorders among the people," &c.—"This quarrel about the society," (meaning the free society of traders, of which *N. Moore* was

this, was instituted and continued by the Proprietary, in 1686, and 1687, one of his commissioners of government, a place of the highest honour and trust, till his death, about two years after this time; in which office there appears no objection from any party against his conduct.

1685.

N. Moore
lives and
dies in the
Proprietors
favour after
this.

But the necessity of an able and assiduous hand, to direct and manage the affairs of the infant colony, still further appears, about this time, from some of the Proprietor's letters to those in power, respecting

was President) "has made your great guns heard hither: I blame nothing, nor the society here, to be sure; but I could wish *Dr. Moore* and *P. R.* could have been softened, and that *J. Cl.** had been more composed;"—"that may be a mighty political vice, that is not a moral one."

* Probably
J. Claypoole

—"Because thy commission may expire, in the opinions of some, as to President of the Council, with thy membership. I have considered how to supply that defect, and that of thy absence; and that is another sort of deputation than before; which comes by the bearer, *Edward Blackfan*. I intreat thee to consider of the true reason of our unhappiness, of that side, among our magistrates: Is it not their *Self-value*, and fighting power in one another? Oh, this preference is, in religious and civil societies, the bane of concord, that is the means of true happiness. Men should be meek, humble and grave; that draws reverence and love together: This wise and good men will do: Is any out of the way? They should not so much look at his infirmity, as take care, they are not also overtaken, eying how many good qualities the offender has to serve the public; and not cast a whole apple away, for one side being defective. The Lord God of peace and power, by his blessed grace, teach and lead his people, in his own blameless path to the end."

In another, to the same, dated, *Wormingburgh*, 6th. of Fourth-month, 1687, he speaks thus,—

"Though I write in general, I was willing to salute thee in particular, hoping that this will find thee and thine well, and at your ease, in *poor Pennsylvania*, where nothing, on my part, in my power, shall be wanting to make you so: I do beseech thee to travail in the spirit of meekness, and of the precious, gentle wisdom of God, that is easily entreated, and works its way through the hardest rocks, to quiet and calm and determine; and not leaving things to my coming too much: Next, remember this, that though the politic ancients overlooked many ill things rather than, by the severity of punishment, to discourage planting their new colonies, or any sort from settling among them; yet, *we*, that have our eye to another home, whose due we have been taught to look for, as the reason of all true prosperity; and that it has ever been according to our faith, are to act, as in his sight, and discharge ourselves, as righteous men, against all unrighteousness; wherefore, pray, let the law have its course;—as for *Dr. Moore* and *P. Robinson*, the persons esteemed the most unquiet and cross to Friends, try what is possible to quiet them; endeavour, by private visits and admonitions to sweeten them; much good may come of it:—The Lord God of endless power bless you, and furnish you, to his praise."

1685. respecting some disagreement, or discord, among certain of the magistrates, and persons in authority, abuses in some of the offices, and the prevention and suppression of vice and immorality; in which he expresses his concern and displeasure at these things, with a parental affection; giving suitable directions, and earnestly pressing their effectual endeavours to cure such disorders.*

Some small disorders in the colony, &c.

Appointment of the Judges, &c.

On the 14th. of September, *James Harrison*, *James Claypoole*, and *Arthur Cooke* were nominated, by the Council, to be Provincial Judges;—but *Harrison* and *Cooke* refusing to serve, and *Claypoole* being prevented by sickness, the Council, in order to answer the expectation of such persons as were concerned in appeals, agreed to receive them, and to sit for the decision of differences, themselves, at the time appointed for the court to sit; which was on the 24th. After this, at their triennial election, according to charter, being, in part, new chosen, they, by fresh commissions, appointed the several officers of government.

Means used to instruct the Indians, &c.

In this year, 1685, the *Quakers*, in their yearly meeting, at *Burlington*, in *West Jersey*, took additional measures to prevent all persons, in their society, from selling strong liquors to the *Indians*. About the same time, by particular appointment, they also had a religious meeting with them, as they frequently had before; to inform and instruct them in the principles of *Christianity*, and the practice of a true *christian* life.

The *Indians* generally heard patiently what was said to them on this subject, and seemed affected with it, for a time; but, for the most part, it appeared

* In a letter to J. Harrison about this time, or soon after, the Proprietary expresses his grief at these things; which, he says, “*Disgraced the province*,” and pressing requests, that a number of persons, whom he there names, should exert themselves, and conjunctively so act, for the common good, as either by persuasion, or authority, to put an end to the same; and prevent disputes and quarrels among them; declaring, “That their conduct herein had struck back hundreds, and was £10,000 out of his way, and £100,000 out of the country.”

peared to make no very durable impresson, on 1685.
their minds, for the proper regulation of their passions and appetites; which, at last, too generally seemed to prevail over convictions of this nature, and their better knowledge.

Divers preachers of this religious society, from abroad, often had meetings, and serious discourse with them, for this purpose; as well as those who had settled in the country, particularly, *Samuel Jennings*, *Thomas Olive*, *William Penn* and others, from time to time, laboured to inculcate into them a just sense of the benefit of a *christian* life and conduct.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VIII.

William Penn's employment in Europe, for the promotion of religion and virtue.—His expence and endeavours to advance the interest and happiness of the province, and to prevent discord in it.—Extracts from his letters, on these subjects, &c.—More emigrants from Holland and Germany increase the settlement of Germantown.—Five commissioners of state, or of the government of Pennsylvania, created.—The Proprietor's instructions to them.—His letter to the same, &c.—His beneficent employment in England for his suffering friends, the Quakers, &c.—Though he is misrepresented and abused, &c.—He appears to have accompanied the King through some counties in England.—His speech to the King, on delivering the Quakers' address.—The address itself, with the King's answer.—Objections against the Quakers' conduct answered.—William Penn continues his endeavours in favour of toleration; but labours under unjust imputations.—William Popple's letter to him, on the subject, with his answer.



1686. **I**N the year 1686, William Penn published a further account of the province of Pennsylvania, wrote several pieces, on religious subjects, chiefly in defence of toleration, in religion, (extant in his works) and appears to have been in Germany and Holland, as well as much engaged in various good services, among his friends, the Quakers, and in promoting religion and virtue, in divers parts, personally.

The Proprietor publishes a further account of the province.

personally, in his native country; at the same 1686. time continuing his care and endeavours, for the benefit, happiness and prosperity of his province, though absent, by means of written directions and advice, from time to time, for the prevention of disorders, and the redressing of such things as appeared inconsistent with the real interest of the colony.

But his great expence and generosity, in the original settlement of the province, as well as afterwards, were so very considerable, when compared with his private fortune, that, even before this time, he began to feel the effects thereof to such a degree, that in his letters to some of his friends there, he was obliged to complain of the slowness, or deficiency, of returns from the place, where, and concerning which, he had sowed so much, or expended so liberally, as he had done.*

His expences for the province bring him into difficulty.

In,

* The following extracts, as well as the preceding, are taken from the Proprietary's original letters, in his own hand writing, viz.

In answer to a remonstrance and address to him, respecting the *Front and Bank lots*, in *Philadelphia*, dated 3d. Sixth-month, 1684, he says,—“I have made the most purchases, and been at the greatest charge of any Proprietary and Governor, in *America*,” &c.

In a letter, dated, *Bristol*, 5th. of Ninth-month, 1695, directed to A. Cook, J. Simcock, S. Carpenter, J. Goodson, S. Richardson, R. Turner, Ph. Pemberton, and D. Lloyd, *Pennsylvania*, he declares,—

—“I must say, that what I have spent upon the province, as Governor and Planter, is the foundation of my present incumbrance; as P. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and asserted to the Lords of plantations lately, to be £4,000 more than the whole, that I ever received for lands, besides what it has cost me here,” &c.

In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, dated, Seventh-month, 1686, he says, and complains, that, at that time, “His quit-rents were, at least, £500 per annum value, and then due, though he could not get one penny.”—“God is my witness,” (says he, in the same letter) “I lie not; I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket, more than ever I saw by the province, and throw in my pains, care, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends, to serve them,” &c.

In a letter to *James Harrison*, dated, London, 23d. Seventh-month, 1686, speaking of his going to his province, he says,—

—“Besides, that the country think not on my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor, and keep another family and capacity upon my private estate; if my table, cellar, and stable may be provided for, with a barge and yatch, or sloop, for the service of governor and government, I may try to get hence; for, in the sight of God, I can say,

I am

1686. In, or about this year, 1686, arrived in the province, many *Friends*, or *Quakers*, and others, from *Holland* and *Germany*; who settled among their friends, at *German-town*, near *Philadelphia*, and increased that settlement, which was begun in 1683. Some of those, who now came, having suffered considerably by fire, soon after their arrival, were assisted by the *Friends*, in the city and county of *Philadelphia*.

Arrivals
from Hol-
land and
Germany.

The Proprietary found too much inconveniency to arise from his commission of the power of government to so many persons as the Council consisted of, and, as before hinted, not being well pleased with part of their conduct, or management, declaring, "that the charter was forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;"* hence, in the latter part of the year 1686, by a fresh commission, he contracted the number of his representatives, or of the executive part of the government, to five persons only, viz. *Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley*, constituting and styling them *Commissioners of State*, or, of the government of *Pennsylvania*.

The Proprietor alters the executive part of government.

Five Commissioners appointed.

Both the cause of their institution, and the nature of their office, in part, appear from the following instructions, viz.

" *William*

I am five thousand pounds, and more, behind hand, more than ever I received, or saw, for land, in that province," &c.—"There is nothing my soul breathes more for, in this world, next my dear family's life, than that I may see poor *Pennsylvania* again;"—"but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done, on that side, inviting," &c.

* In another letter to the same, about this time, he complains,—

That the *Provincial Council* neglected, or slighted, his letters to them; that he had religiously consecrated his pains, in a prudent manner, but it was not valued, understood, or kept to; so that the charter was over and over again forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;—that they entirely neglected the supply, which they had promised him; which, in consequence of his great expence, on account of the province, was one cause, that kept him from *Pennsylvania*; declaring, "That he would not spend his private estate, to discharge a public station."

“ William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,

1686.

“ To my trusty and well beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner and John Eckley, or any three of them, at Philadelphia:

“ TRUSTY and well-beloved, I heartily salute you; lest any should scruple the termination of President Lloyd's commission, with his place in the Provincial Council, and to the end that there may be a more constant residence of the honorary and governing part of the government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have sent a fresh commission of deputation to you, making any three of you a *quorum*, to act in the execution of laws, enacting, disannulling, or varying of laws, as if I myself were there present, reserving to myself the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages.

The Proprietary's instructions to them.

“ First, You are to oblige the *Provincial Council* to their charter attendance; or to take such a Council, as you think convenient, to advise and assist you, in the business of the public: for I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance, but dissolve the frame, without any more ado: let them look to it, if further occasion be given.

“ Secondly, That you keep to the dignity of your station, in Council, and out; but especially, to suffer no disorder in the Council, nor the Council and Assembly, or either of them, to encroach upon the powers and privileges remaining yet in me.

“ Thirdly, That you admit not any parleys, or open conferences, between the Provincial Council and Assembly; but one, with your approbation, propose and let the other consent or dissent, according to charter.

“ Fourthly,

1686.

The Proprietary's
instructions
to the Commissioners.

“ Fourthly, That you curiously inspect the past proceedings of both, and let me know, in what they have broken the bounds, or obligations of their charter.

“ Fifthly, That you, this very next Assembly General, declare my abrogation of all that has been done since my absence; and so, of all the laws, but the fundamentals; and that you immediately dismiss the Assembly, and call it again; and pass such of them afresh, with such alterations, as you and they shall see meet; and this, to avoid a greater inconveniency; which I foresee, and formerly communicated to *Thomas Lloyd*.

“ Sixthly, Inspect the qualifications of members in Council and Assembly; and see they be according to charter; and especially of those, that have the administration of justice; and whatever you do, let the point of the laws be turned against impiety, and your severe brow upon all the troublesome and vexatious, more especially, trifling, appellars.

“ You shall shortly have a limitation from the King; though you have power, with the Council and Assembly, to fix the matter and manner of appeals, as much as to do any justice, or prevent any disorder, in the province, at all.

“ Seventhly, That till then, I have sent you a proclamation, to that effect, according to the powers of ordinance making, and declared in my letters patent, which you may expose, as you please.

“ Eighthly, Be most just, as in the sight of the *all-seeing, all-searching* God; and before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to him (who is not far away from every one of you; by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice) that he may give you a good understanding, and government of your selves, in the management thereof; which is
that

that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those, that perform them. You shall hear further from me by *C. King*; the ship is ready to fail, so shall only admonish you in general, that, next to the preservation of virtue, have a tender regard to peace, and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help and serve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord: So commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell.

1686.

The Proprietary's instructions to the Commissioners.

“ Given at *Worminghurst*, in old *England*, the first of the Twelfth-month, 1686.”*

During

* His manner of writing to these Commissioners further appears, by the following extract from one of his letters to them, dated, the sixth of the Fourth-month, 1687.

“ William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,

“ To Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole and John Eckley,

“ TRUSTY and well-beloved friends, I salute you all with sincere affection, desiring your temporal and eternal prosperity.

“ I have constituted you, or any three of you, Governor, and so are properly *the Commissioners* of the government; to act, as if I were present: And I hope it will conduce to your honor, and the peace and happiness of the people, under your care. I found my former deputation clogged with a long and slow tale of persons, rarely got together, and then with unwillingness, and sometimes reflections, even, upon me; for their pains of hearing one letter read;—That time may shew them they were out, in their censure, having then contracted their deputation into your hands.—Be diligent, faithful, loving, and communicate with one another, in things that concern the public; and I no ways doubt, but your breaches will heal, and your example have that effect, that nothing will be left for me to do, but thank and love you, and take pleasure in your comely order and those under you.

“ I beseech you draw not several ways, have no cabals apart, nor reserves from one another; treat, with a mutual simplicity, an entire confidence in one another; and if, at any time, you mistake, or misapprehend, or dissent from one another; let not that appear to the people; shew your virtues but conceal your infirmities; this will make you awful and reverent with the people. Justice, mercy, temperance of spirit, are high qualities, and necessary ones in government; I beseech God to fit you for his work more and more; by whom all Governors and people in authority, ought to be influenced, in their administration of temporal things, committed to their care.

“ Three things occur to me eminently;—First, that you be watchful that none abuse the King, in reference to his dues, &c.—Secondly, That you get the custom act revived, with the first; for I think that the equallest, and least offensive way, to support the government; for something

1686. During most of the time of *William Penn's* absence from his province, till the reign of King *William* the Third, though not many public transactions, nor proceedings of much importance and notoriety, appear to have passed in *Pennsylvania* besides those which respect the labour and advantages of an industrious people, in the colonization of the country, and laying a foundation for future greatness, by facilitating and multiplying the reasonable enjoyments and blessings of life; yet its eminent founder was not the less active and beneficial to mankind, in another department; and his *suffering friends*, the *Quakers*, in *Great Britain*, experienced the effect of his attendance and solicitations, at court,* in their favour: where his frequent

Advantage
of an indus-
trious peo-
ple, &c.

thing must be done, in that affair, &c. Thirdly, That you retrieve the dignity of courts and sessions; and remove all persons unqualified in morals or incapacity. Oh, that I could but have that, by your union, gravity, constant weekly meetings once or twice, as Second-days, and Fifth-days, in the morning or afternoon, to hear, advice, or do what is fit for the public good; that you had recovered the reputation which becomes that province to have;—For, what with that, which is real, and that malice in your neighbours of some governments invent, we have much ado to keep our heads above water here.

“ I shall add no more, but my love to the people, in general; and that so soon as my affairs will let me, I shall be with them: for no poor slave in Turkey, longs more for his freedom. I commit you to God's protection, and bid you heartily farewell.

“ Given at *Wormingburst*, this 6th. day of the Fourth-month, 1687.”

In his instructions, dated, *London*, the 21st. of the Eighth-month, 1687. he further says,

——“ And, first, I recommend to you the vigorous suppression of vice, and that without respect of persons, or persuasions. *Let not foolish pity rob justice of its due, and the people of proper examples.* I know what malice and prejudice say; but they move me not.—I know how to allow for new colonies, though others do not; nevertheless double your diligence,” &c.

* In a letter to *James Harrison*, his agent, at *Pennsbury*, about this time, he gives the following hints of his employment then in England, viz.

——“ I am engaged in the public business of the nation and Friends; and those in authority would have me see the establishment of the liberty, that I was a small instrument to begin in the land: The Lord has given me great entrance and interest with the K——, though not so much as is said; and I confess I should rejoice to see poor old *England* fixed, the penal laws repealed, that are now suspended; and if it goes well with *England*, it cannot go ill with *Pennsylvania*.”——“ but this I will say, no temporal honor, or profit, can tempt me to decline poor *Pennsylvania*,

frequent access to the King brought him into suspicion of being a disguised *Jesuit*, and under unjust censures and imputations; as if he had been an adviser, and contributed, to those arbitrary measures, which that impolitic King (James the second) pursued: Whereas his generous plan of liberty, so far as his power extended, and his otherwise well known principles of government, were as contrary to those of the King, as could possibly be, and his religion no less opposite. 1686.

W. Penn suspected of being a disguised Jesuit.

Nevertheless he was not only infamously aspersed and abused, in print, on these accounts, by divers illiberal and slanderous performances, published against him, and some of them, even, in his own name, but also censured by some persons of good understanding and character; who, in divers respects were his friends, but not thoroughly knowing him, fell into the like suspicions: An instance of this appears in Dr. *Tillotson*, afterwards *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*; but, by means of a friendly epistolary correspondence between them, on the subject, in the year 1686, as appears in *William Penn's* life prefixed to his printed works, Dr. *Tillotson* was fully convinced of, and as freely acknowledged, his mistake. and vilified in print, &c.

But he continued still to distinguish himself in the cause of an impartial toleration, in religion, both in writing, and also by assiduous personal solicitations, at court, as a strenuous and unwearied advocate for that undoubted right of mankind; of which he, and his Friends, the *Quakers*, had, through the persecuting and bigoted spirit of those times, been long unjustly deprived. Hence, in the fore part of this year, in consequence of the King's proclamation for a general pardon, "about thirteen hundred of these people, most of whom had been

W. Penn's beneficent conduct in England.

Its consequences in favour of religious liberty, &c.

as unkindly used as I am; and no poor slave in *Turkey* desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore be contented a while, and God in his time will bring us together."—&c.

1687. *been imprisoned divers years, for their religion, were set at liberty."* And in April, the next following year, 1687, came forth the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, suspending the execution of all penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical.

The Quakers justifiable in being grateful for this relief, &c.

From their cruel sufferings, &c.

For this temporary relief from cruel suffering, by the intolerant and unjust laws of those times, they who had endured most oppression and persecution, undoubtedly had the greatest reason to be thankful: and whatever were the supposed views of the government thereby, in too much favouring a *Popish party*, yet, for the *Quakers* to refuse, or reject the restitution of that natural right of mankind, and most undoubted privilege of *English* people, and all peaceable subjects, merely because it might be made an ill use of by others, and was not done in due form, would certainly have been the highest absurdity: and for those, who had suffered more deeply than all others, not to acknowledge and commend the redress of such a crying and intolerable grievance and affliction, as they had endured, in respect to themselves, so long and so laboriously solicited, by them, of the preceding King and Parliaments, *in vain*, would have shewed the greatest ingratitude and insensibility; more especially, as it was scarcely possible for them to be in a much worse condition, even, under a *Popish hierarchy* itself, than they had, for many years, endured, both under *Cromwell*, King *Charles the Second*, and their *Parliaments*, to this time, without being able to obtain redress any other way: Wherefore, at their next annual Assembly, held in *London* in the Third-month, this year, the *Quakers*

Note.—In the Summer of the year 1687, *W. Penn*, by some of his letters, to his friends in *Pennsylvania*, seems to have been with the King, in a progress, thro' divers of the counties in *England*, viz. *Berkshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Worcestershire*, *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Oxfordshire* and *Hampshire*:—during which journey he had several religious meetings with the people; and in some places, where the king appears to have been present, particularly in *Chesler*. M. S. letters.

Quakers drew up an address of thanks to the King, 1687. deputing *William Penn* and others, to present the same; his speech on the presenting it, with the address itself, and the King's answer, were, as follow, viz. The Quakers thank the King.

William Penn's speech to the King, upon his delivering the Quakers' address, viz.

“ *May it please the King,*

“ IT was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious *Jews*, in the case of tribute, *render to Cæsar the things, that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things, that are God's*. As this distinction ought to be observed by all men, in the conduct of their lives, so the King has given us an illustrious example, in his own person, that excites us to it: For while he was a subject, he gave *Cæsar* his tribute, and now he is *Cæsar*, gives *God* his due, viz. the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame, then, for any *Englishman* (that professes *Christianity*) not to give *God* his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray *God* to continue the King in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle, that has good nature, *Christianity*, and the good of civil society on its side, a security to him beyond the little arts of government. W. Penn's Speech to the King.

“ I would not that any should think, that we come hither with design to fill the *Gazette* with our thanks; but, as our sufferings would have moved *stones to compassion*, so we should be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

“ Now, since the King's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the *kingdom of England and principality of Wales*, our *General Assembly*, from all those parts, met at *London*, about our church

1687. church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King, with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this address, with all the effect and respect of a dutiful subject.

“ *The address to King James II. over England, &c.*

“ *The humble and grateful acknowledgement of his peaceable subjects, called Quakers, in this kingdom.*

“ *From their usual Yearly Meeting, in London, the nineteenth day of the Third-month, vulgarly called May, 1687.*

The Quakers address to the king.

“ WE cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for *conscience sake*; and we rejoice, that, instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks: And since it hath pleased the King, out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared, by his gracious proclamation and warrants, last year, whereby twelve hundred prisoners were released from their severe imprisonments, and many others, from spoil and ruin, in their estates and properties; and his princely speech in Council, and *Christian* declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience; and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word, the same shall continue, during his reign; we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the King our humble, christian and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of our selves, but with respect to our *Friends*, throughout *England* and *Wales*; and pray

pray God, with all our hearts, to bleſs and preſerve thee, O King, and thoſe under thee, in ſo good a work: and as we can aſſure the King it is well accepted in the ſeveral counties, from whence we came, ſo we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and proſperity of the kingdom, will produce ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity, in after-times; and while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour (through God's grace) to demean ourſelves, as, in conſcience to God, and duty to the King, we are obliged, his peaceable, loving and faithful ſubjects."

The King's answer.

" Gentlemen,

" I thank you heartily for your addreſs: Some of you know (I am ſure you do, Mr. Penn) that it was always my principle, that conſcience ought not to be forced: and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conſciences. And what I have promiſed, in my declaration, I will continue to perform, ſo long as I live. And, I hope, before I die, to ſettle it ſo, that after ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter it."

" Some (ſays the writer of *William Penn's* life) have objected againſt the *Quakers*, and other diſſenters, for addreſſing King *James*, upon the aforeſaid declaration of indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the King's diſpenſing with the laws in general; let ſuch obſerve, their imputation, as to *William Penn* and his *Friends*, the *Quakers*, is ſufficiently guarded againſt, in that part of their addreſs, where they ſay, *we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and proſperity of the kingdom will produce ſuch a concurrence from the Parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity.* 'Tis plain, therefore, they gratefully accepted of the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, by the

1687. King's prerogative (as who, in their case, would not?) a thing in itself just and reasonable, in their hopes of having the same afterwards confirmed by the legislative authority; there being, at that time, much talk of an approaching Parliament: and that their expectation centered not in the King's *dispensing power*, is evident, by *William Penn's* continuing his endeavours to shew the necessity of abolishing the *penal laws*; for soon after this he wrote a large tract, called, *Good advice to the church of England, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Dissenters*; in which he shews the disannulling of those laws to be their general interest; and soon after he published another book, entitled, *The great and popular objection against the repeat of the penal laws, briefly stated and considered.*"

W. Penn continues his endeavours in favour of toleration.

He still continues under unjust imputations, &c. But he still continuing to labour under many jealousies and reflections, as a countenancer of the court proceedings, in general; the following letters between him and one of his particular friends, *Sir William Popple*, then secretary to the plantation office, in 1688, may serve further to elucidate that subject, viz.

" *To the Honourable William Penn, Esquire, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.*

" *Honoured Sir,*

W. Popple to W. Penn.

" **THOUGH** the friendship, with which you are pleased to honour me, doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you, upon any subject, yet I chose rather, at this time, to offer unto you, in writing, some reflections, which have occurred to my thoughts, in a matter of **no** common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly respect yourself, and your own private concerns; but it also consequentially and effectually regards the King, his government, and, even, the peace and settlement of **this whole**

whole nation. I intreat you, therefore, to bear 1688.
 with me, if I endeavour, in this manner, to give
 somewhat more weight unto my words, than would
 be in a transient discourse, and leave them with
 you, as a subject, that requires your retired con-
 sideration.

W. Poppel
 to W. Penn.

“ You are not ignorant, that the part you have been supposed to have had, of late years, in public affairs, though without either the title, or honor, or profit, of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavours to introduce amongst us a general and inviolable *liberty of conscience*, in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and, in the end, have raised against you a multitude of enemies; who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations, as, I am sure, you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it: The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders. For however glorious it is, and reasonable, for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet, even, that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immovable, in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is, indeed, a duty, that admits of no exception: But, nevertheless, it ought not to hinder that, at the same time, there be also due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. “ *A good name, says the wise man, is better than precious ointment.*” It is a perfume, that recommends the person, whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an easy acceptance; and that facilitates the success of all his enterprises: And for
 that

1688. that reason, though there were no other, I entreat you, observe, that the care of a man's reputation is an essential part of that very same duty, that engages him in the pursuit of any worthy design.

W. Popple
to W. Penn.

“ But I must not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme: my business is to represent to you, more particularly, those very imputations, which are cast upon yourself, together with some of their evident consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labour after a remedy. The source of all arises from the ordinary access, you have unto the King, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy, that some people have conceived of his intentions, in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle *Popery* in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but, even, in a predominating superiority over all other professions: And from thence the inference follows, that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign, must needs be popishly affected: But that, to have so great a part in them, as you are said to have had, can happen to none, but an *absolute Papist*. That is the direct charge; but that is not enough; your part is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form; and, therefore, you must be a *Jesuit*: Nay, to confirm that suggestion, it must be accompanied with all the circumstances, that may best give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at *St. Omer's*, in the *Jesuit's college*; that you have taken *orders* at *Rome*, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated, as a *Priest*, in the celebration of the *mass*, at *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss, either in church or state, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it; and, if

other proofs fail, the Scripture itself must be brought in to confirm, "That whosoever offends, in one point, (in a point especially so essential as that of our too much affected uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws." Thus the charge of *Popery* draws after it a tail like the *et cetera oath*, and by endless innuendos prejudicates you, as guilty of whatsoever malice can invent, or folly believe: But that charge, therefore, being removed, the inferences, that are drawn from it, will vanish, and your reputation will easily return to its former brightness.

1688.
W. Popple
to W. Penn.

"Now, that I might the more effectually persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, Sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter, for a person, raised as you are, above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake, in so important a matter. The general, and the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And, as it happens that you have also enemies of an higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes, by all arts of malicious artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniences, that may arise from thence, no less increased. This, Sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those, whose interest is to cross it. I need not tell you how many, and how powerful they are; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you, that, in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for

1688. for so much jealousy, at least, as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense of your honor, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

W. Popple
to W. Penn.

“ Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earnestness of these expressions; nay, suffer me, without offence, to expostulate with you yet a little farther. I am fearful lest these personal considerations should not have their due weight with you, and therefore, I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general consequences of your particular reproach. I have said it already, that the King, his honour, his government, and, even, the peace and settlement of this whole nation, either are, or have been, concerned in this matter: Your reputation, as you are said to have meddled in public affairs, have been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conscience having been your particular province; the aspersions of *Popery* and *Jesuitism*, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon his *Majesty*, for having made use, in that affair, of so disguised a personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the force of all your endeavours, obstructed their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor nation of that inestimable happiness, and secure establishment, which, I am persuaded, you designed, and which all good and wise men agree, that a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration had been sooner laid to heart, and that some demonstrative evidence of your sincerity, in the profession you make, had accompanied all your endeavours for liberty.

“ But, what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence, which I know you have constantly

constantly given, of the opposition of your prin- 1688.
 ciples to those of the *Romish* church, and at the little regard, there has been had to it. If an open profession of the directest opposition against *Popery*, that has ever appeared in the world, since *Popery* was first distinguished from *common Christianity*, would serve the turn, this cannot be denied to all those of that *society*, with which you are joined in the duties of religious worship. If to have maintained the principles of that society, by frequent and fervent discourses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering ignominy, imprisonment, and other manyfold disadvantages, in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already: Nay, farther, if to have enquired as far as was possible for you, into the particular stories, that have been framed against you, and to have sought all means of rectifying the mistakes, upon which they were grounded, could, in any measure avail to the settling a true character of you, in men's judgments; this also I know you have done. For I have seen, under the hand of a reverend Dean* of our *English* church, a full acknowledgment of satisfaction, received from you, in a suspicion he had entertained, upon one of those stories, and to which his report had procured too great credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his letter, without his express leave, and, perhaps, may not now think fit to ask it; yet I am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and candour, that I cannot doubt, but he has already vindicated you, in that matter, and will, (according to his promise) be still ready to do it, upon all occasions. Nay, I have seen also your justification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one, who had been formerly a *Monk*, out of your *American* province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies; I say I have seen your

W. Popple
 to W. Penn.

* Tillotson.

1688. your justification from that story, under that person's own hand: and his return to *Pennsylvania*, where he now resides, may be an irrefragable confirmation of it, to any that will take the pains to enquire thereinto.

W. Popple
to W. Penn.

“ Really, it afflicts me very much, to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular respect for you, which I sincerely profess, yet I could not but be much affected, that any man, who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation, as you have formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expence of his time, his strength and his estate, without any other recompence than what results from the consciousness of doing good; I say, I could not but be much affected, to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches, as you have done. It is an hard case; and I think, no man, that has any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it, without great relatings.

“ Since, therefore, it is so, and that something remains yet to be done, something more express, and especially more public, than has yet been done, for your vindication, I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy, that friendship, either mine, or that of your friends and relations together can have upon you, by the due regard, which humanity, and, even, Christianity, obliges you to have to your reputation; by the duty, you owe unto the King, by your love to the land of your nativity; and by the cause of universal religion and eternal truth, let not the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to serve your King, your country and your religion,
by

by such a public vindication of your honour, as 1688.
 your own prudence, upon these suggestions, will
 now shew you to be most necessary, and most ex-
 pedient. I am, with unfeigned, and most respect-
 ful affection,

W. Popple
 to W. Penn.

Honoured Sir,

*Your most humble, and
 most obedient servant.*

“ London, October the 20th. 1688.”

*The following is William Penn's answer to the pre-
 ceding letter, viz.*

“ *Worthy Friend,*

“ IT is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me. For since I have had the knowledge of religion, from a *principle in myself*, the first and main point with me has been, to approve myself in the sight of God, through patience and well-doing: So that the world has not had weight enough with me, to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And, if that had been the only motive, or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend, in the name of many others, I had been as silent to thy letter, as I use to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times: But, as the laws of friendship are sacred, with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

“ The business chiefly insisted upon is my *Popery*, and endeavours to promote it. I do say, then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not only no *Jesuit*, but no *Papist*. And, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts, in my own mind, about the way I profess,

1688. profess, or from the discourses, or writings of any of that religion. And, in the presence of Almighty God, I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly attack me, or tempt me, upon that subject, the many years, that I have had the advantage of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as fordidly false, are all those stories of the town.

W. Penn's
answer to
W. Popple.

“ The only reason, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a *Roman Catholic*, is my frequent going to *White-Hall*, a place no more forbid to me, than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems, find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation, through all times, since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions; thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had, for the good of those, that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too; though I must own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the least share of my thoughts, or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

“ But because some people are so unjust, as to tender instances for my *Popery* (or, rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me) it is fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say, then, solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at *St. Omer's*, and having received orders at *Rome*, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a correspondence with any body, in those places; which is another story invented against me. And, as for my officiating in the King's chapel, or any other; it is so ridiculous, as well as untrue, that besides that no body can do it, but a *Priest*, and that I have

have been married to a woman of some condition, 1688.
 above sixteen years, which no Priest can be, by
 any dispensation whatever; I have not so much as
 looked into *any* chapel of the *Roman* religion, and
 consequently not the King's, though common cu-
 riosity warrants it daily to people of all perswa-
 sions.

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

“ And, once for all, I do say, that I am a *Pro-
 testant dissenter*, and to that degree such, that I
 challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the
English church, or any other, on that head, be he
 Layman, or Clergyman, in public, or in private.
 For I would have such people know, it is not im-
 possible for a *true Protestant dissenter* to be dutiful,
 thankful and serviceable to the *King*, though he be
 of the *Roman catholic communion*. We hold not
 our property, or protection, from him, by our
 persuasion; and, therefore, his persuasion should
 not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry
 to see so many, that seem fond of the reformed
 religion, by their disaffection to him, recommend
 it so ill. Whatever practices of *Roman catholics*
 we might reasonably object against (and no doubt
 but such there are) yet he has disclaimed and repre-
 hended those ill things, by his declared opinion
 against *persecution*, by the ease, in which he actu-
 ally indulges all dissenters; and by the confirmation,
 he offers in Parliament, for the security of the
 Protestant religion, and liberty of conscience. And,
 in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I
 am obliged, in conscience, to say, that he has ever
 declared to me, *it was his opinion*; and on all oc-
 casions, when Duke, he never refused me the
 repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor
 sufferers for conscience sake to solicit his help for.

“ But some may be apt to say, “ Why not any
 body else as well as I? Why must I have the pre-
 ferable access to other dissenters, if not a *Papist*?”
 I answer, I know not that it is so. But this I know,
 that

1688. that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and pressed it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and, which is more (if I may say it without vanity or reproach) wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation, that my father had to this King's service; his particular favour, in getting me released out of the *Tower of London*, in 1669; my father's humble request to him, upon his death bed, to protect me from the inconveniencies and troubles, my perswasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment, I addressed myself to him:—I say, when all this is considered, any body, that has the least pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the *King*.

W. Penn's
answer to
W. Popple.

“ Perhaps, some will be ready to say, “ This is not all, nor is this yet a fault, but, that I have been an adviser in other matters, disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of the people.”—A likely thing, indeed, that a Protestant dissenter, who, from fifteen years old, has been, at times, a sufferer, in his father's family, in the university, and by the government, for being so, should design the *destruction* of the Protestant religion! This is just as probable, as it is true, that I died a *Jesuit* six years ago, in *America*.*

* See page
246.

Will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them? Is any thing more foolish, as well as false, than that, because I am often at *White-Hall*, therefore I must be the author of all, that is done there, which does not please abroad? But, supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any thing, that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are

are transacted. I have had no office, or trust, 1688.
 and consequently nothing can be said to be done
 by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under
 any test, or obligation to discover my opinion of
 public acts of state; and therefore neither can any
 such acts, nor my silence about them, in justice,
 be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and
 cyphers, in all governments. And unless calling
 at *White-Hall* once a day, upon many occasions,
 or my not being turned out of nothing (for that
 no office is) be the evidence of my compliance in
 disagreeable things, I know not what else can, with
 any truth, be alledged against me. However,
 one thing I know, that I have every where most
 religiously observed, and endeavoured, in con-
 versation, with persons of all ranks and opinions,
 to allay heats, and moderate extremes, even, in
 the politics. It is below me to be more particular;
 but, I am sure, it has been my endeavour, that,
 if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom,
 at least, we might upon a civil one, the good of
England; which is the common interest of King
 and people: That he might be great by justice,
 and we free by obedience, distinguishing rightly,
 on the one hand, between duty and slavery; and
 on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

“ But, alas, I am not without my apprehen-
 sions of the cause of this behaviour towards me,
 and in this, I perceive, we agree; I mean my
 constant zeal for an *impartial* liberty of conscience.
 But, if that be it, the cause is too good to be in
 pain about. I ever understood that to be the na-
 tural right of all men; and that he that had a re-
 ligion without it, his religion was none of his own.
 For what is not the religion of a man's *choice*, is
 the religion of him that imposes it: So that liberty
 of conscience is the first step to have a religion.
 This is no new opinion with me. I have writ
 many apologies, within the last twenty years, to
 defend

1688. defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as
 constantly declared, that bounds ought to be set
 to this freedom, and that morality was the *best*;
 and that as often as that was violated, under a pre-
 tence of conscience, it was fit the civil power
 should take place. Nor did I ever once think of
 promoting any sort of liberty of conscience, for
 any body which did not preserve the *common pro-
 testancy* of the kingdom, and the *ancient rights* of
 the government. For, to say truth, the one cannot
 be maintained without the other.

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

“ Upon the whole matter, I must say, *I love
 England*; I ever did so; and that I am not in her
 debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred,
 to serve her and do her good. No party could
 ever bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal
 interest oblige me in her wrong. For I always
 abhorred discounting *private favours* at the *public
 cost*.

“ Would I have made my market of the fears
 and jealousies of the people, when this King came
 to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds
 into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my
 province; for mighty numbers of people were
 then upon the wing: But I waved it all; hoped for
 better times; expected the effects of the King's
 word, for liberty of conscience, and happiness by
 it: And till I saw my friends, with the kingdom,
 delivered from the legal bondage, which penal
 laws, for religion, had subjected them to, I could,
 with no satisfaction, think of leaving *England*;
 though much to my prejudice beyond sea; and at
 my great expence here; having, in all this time
 never had either office or pension, and always re-
 fusing the rewards, or gratuities, of those, I have
 been able to oblige.

“ If, therefore, an *universal charity*, if the as-
 serting an *impartial liberty of conscience*, if *doing to
 others as one would be done by*, and an *open avowing*,
 and

and steady *practising of these things*, in all times, 1688.
 to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a *Jesuit*, or a *Papist*, of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows that I can wear it with more pleasure, than it is possible for them, with any justice, to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all buildings, that have them not for their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no *life* or *virtue* to the soul; no good, or example, to one's neighbour. Let us not flatter ourselves, "We can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it." Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds, in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance: As if a mistake about an *obscure proposition of faith*, were a greater evil, than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge; but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And, if this be their judgment, can it be our blessing? Let us not think religion a litigious thing; nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants; but, that he came also to make us goodivers. Sincerity goes farther than capacity. It is *charity*, that deservedly excels, in the Christian religion; and happy would it be, if, where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way, that God has found out and appointed, to moderate our differences, and make them, at least, harmless to society; and, therefore, I confess, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our *apprehension*,
 or

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

1688. or *belief* of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would not prove such a canker, as it is, to love and peace, in civil societies.

W. Penn's
answer to
W. Popple.

“He that suffers his difference with his neighbour, about the other world, to carry him beyond the line of moderation, in this, is the worse for his *opinion*, even, though it be true. It is too little considered by *Christians*, that men may hold the *truth* in *unrighteousness*; that they may be *orthodox*, and not know what *spirit they are of*: So were the Apostles of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let a false *zeal* do violence to their judgment, and their unwarrantable *heat* contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, *love*.

“Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can *bate* in his name, who bids us *love*; and *kill* for his sake, that forbids *killing*, and commands *love*, even, to enemies.

“Let not men, or parties, think to shift it off from themselves. It is not this *principle*, or that *form*, to which so great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Christianity is not at *heart*. No fear of God in the inward parts: No awe of his divine omnipresence. *Self* prevails, and breaks out, more or less, through all forms, but too plainly; (pride, wrath, lust, avarice) so that though people say to God, *Thy will be done*; which shews them to be true heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without *works*, and repent without forsaking; busy for *forms*, and the temporal benefits of them, while *true religion*, which is, *To visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world*, goes barefoot, and, like *Lazarus*, is despised. Yet *this* was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion, before

before *Synods* and *Councils* had the meddling with it, and modelling of it. In those days, bowels were a good part of religion, and that to the fatherless and widow, at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own way. It was said by him, that could not say amiss, *Because iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold.* Whatsoever divides man's heart from God, separates it from his neighbour; and he, that loves self more than God, can never love his neighbour as himself. For, as the Apostle said, "If we do not love him, whom we have seen, how can we love God, whom we have not seen?"

1688.
W. Penn's
answer to
W. Popple.

"O, that we could see some men as eager to turn people to God, as they are to blow them up, and set them one against another. But, indeed, those only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweetness of that conversion, which is to *power*, not *form*; to *godliness*, not *gain*. Such as those do bend their thoughts and pains to appease, not increase, heats and animosities; to exhort people to look at home, sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens. And, in no age, or time, was there more need to set men at work, in their own hearts, than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit prevails. For whatever some men may think, "The disease of this kingdom is *sin*; impiety against God, and want of *charity* to men." And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

"Now, this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things, for the cure of it.


"The first is *David's clean heart*, and *right spirit*, which he asked and had of God: without this we must be a *chaos* still. For the distemper is *within*; and our Lord said, *All evil comes from thence.* Set the *inward man* right, and the out-ward

1688. *ward man cannot be wrong*: That is the helm, that governs the human vessel: And this nothing can do, but an *inward principle*, the *light* and *grace*, that came by Christ; which the scripture tells us, *enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men.*"

W. Penn's
answer to
W. Popple.

It is preposterous to think, that *He*, who made the world, should shew least care of the best part of it, our *souls*. No, he, that gave us an outward luminary, for our bodies, hath given us an inward one, for our minds, to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation, that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. It is by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he, that thinks to go to Heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irreparably mistaken. There are but *goats* and *sheep*, at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not, therefore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake: "God will not be mocked; what we sow we must expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave;" which shews, that, if none there, then no where else. To sum up this divinity of mine; it is the *light* of *Jesus*, in our souls, that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance; which repentance begets humility, and humility, that true *charity*, that covers a multitude of faults; which I call God's *expedient* against man's *infirmity*.

"The second remedy to our present distemper, is this; since all, of all parties, profess to believe in God; Christ, the Spirit; and Scripture; that the soul is immortal, that there are eternal rewards and punishments; and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other; I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve, in the strength of God; to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably, about the rest, in which we differ. I am persuaded

ded the change and comfort, which that pious 1688.
 course would bring us to, would go very far to
 dispose our natures to compound easily for all the
 rest; and we might hope yet to see happy days, 
 in poor *England*; for there I would have so good
 a work begun. And how it is possible for the
 eminent men of every religious persuasion (espe-
 cially the present *ministers* of the *parishes* of *En-*
gland) to think of giving an account to God, at
 the last day, without using the utmost of their en-
 deavours to *moderate* the members of their respec-
 tive communions towards those, that differ from
 them, is a mystery to me! But this I know, and
 must lay it at their doors, I charge also my own
 soul with it, "God requires *moderation* and *humi-*
lity from us;" for he is at hand, who will not
 spare to judge our *impatience*, if we have no pati-
 ence for one another. The eternal God rebuke,
 I beseech him, the wrath of man, and humble all
 under the sense of the evil of this day; and yet,
 unworthy as we are, give us *peace*, For his holy
 Name's sake!

W. Penn's
 answer to
 W. Popple.

"It is now time to end this letter; and I will
 do it without saying any more than this: Thou
 seest my defence against popular calumny; thou
 seest what my thoughts are, of our condition,
 and the way to better it; and thou seest my hearty
 and humble prayer to Almighty God, to incline
 us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes.
 I shall only add, that I am extremely sensible of
 the kindness and justice, intended me by my friends,
 on this occasion, and that I am, for that, and ma-
 ny more reasons,

"*Thy obliged and affectionate Friend,*

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*Feddington, October the 24th. 1688.*"

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

The Proprietary's presence much needed in the province.—His letter to the Commissioners.—Thomas Lloyd.—False alarm of an Indian insurrection.—Names of the Members of Assembly, in 1687.—Caleb Pusey.—Captain John Blackwell appointed Deputy Governor.—The Proprietary's instructions to him.—He meets the Assembly, disagrees with the Council, and returns to England.—Names of some Members of Council, on whom the administration devolved;—with the cause and design of Blackwell's appointment.—Why William Penn may justly be called the Father of his country.—Two of his epistles to his Friends, the settlers there; with one to the Council.—Institution of the first public Grammar-school in Pennsylvania, with its design, &c.—George Keith, &c.

1688. **W**HILE William Penn was thus variously and importantly employed in England, his province, as before observed, needed his presence; and Thomas Lloyd, who ever since the Proprietary's departure, had chiefly presided in the public affairs, and sustained the weight and care of them, under the different appointments, excepting two short intermissions, wherein Thomas Holme and William Clark supplied his absence, wanted to be discharged from the burden; and, before this time had solicited to be released, by the appointment of another person in his room: But a suitable person for such an appointment was not easy to be found; and the Proprietary appears to have been sensible of it, by his manner of writing, at different times, to his friends

W. Penn
wanted in
his province

T. Lloyd
requests to
be released
from public
affairs.

friends in the province,* expressing his ardent desire for its prosperity, and to reside in it himself; 1688.
in

* On this and some other things the Proprietor writ to the Commissioners in the following manner, dated the 27th. of the Tenth-month, 1687, viz.

" William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,

" To my truly and well-beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, John Eckle, John Simcock and Arthur Cook, commissioners of state, for the province of *Pennsylvania*, or any three of them:—

" I salute you all with unfeigned love, and, in Christ Jesus, wish you health and happiness.—

" My last is by the same hand, this being sent to the *Downs* after him, upon the receipt of Thomas Lloyd's and William Markham's letter: But I am heartily sorry that I had no letter from the government: indeed I have hardly had one at all: and for private letters though from public persons, I regard them but little; I mean as to taking my public measures by: for I find such contradictions, as well as diversity, that I believe, I may say, I am one of the unhappiest Proprietaries, with one of the best people. If this had not been complained of in mine by Edward Blackfan, I should have been less moved at this visible inconstancy and neglect.—Had the government signed, I mean those, who are the most eminent in authority, by consent of the rest, it had given me some ease and satisfaction; but, as it is, 'tis controversy rather than government, which stands and lives and prospers in unity, at least of the governing part, whatever be their affections; for men may agree in duty, that dislike one another's natural tempers.—I shall henceforth, therefore, expect letters from the government, recounting the affairs of it, that they may be authoritative to me; and as many private ones as you please bestides; for that I also, rejoice in, and any particular advice, that may inform me, as to the public, or remedy what may be amiss, or meliorate what is, in itself, well, will also be very acceptable to me.

" Now I have said this, I cannot but condole the loss of some standards, in the province, honest men, and of good understandings, in their kind. The Lord avert his judgments, and constrain all, by his visitations, to amend, be it in conversation, or be it in peace, concord and charity; they that live near to God, will live far from themselves; and from the sense they have of his nearness and majesty, have a low opinion of themselves; and out of that low and humble frame of spirit it is, that true charity grows; the most excellent way;—Ah! what shall I say, there can be no union, no comfortable society without it: Oh, that the people of my province, and parts annexed; felt this gracious quality abounding in them, my work would be done, and their praise and my joy unspeakably abound to us; wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old foes be forgotten, as well as forgiven: shut out the remembrance of them, and preach this doctrine to the people, in my name, yea, in the king's name, and his that is greater above all, viz. God Almighty's name.

" I am sorry that *Thomas Lloyd*, my esteemed friend, covets a *Quiescent*, that is young, active and ingenious; for from such it is, that I expect help; and such will not sow, I hope, in vain; but since 'tis his desire, I do hereby signify his *dismissal* from the trouble he has borne, (for some time of rest and ease, at least) and do nominate, to be commissioned in my name, under the great seal, till further order, *Samuel Carpenter*.

1688. in one of which to *Thomas Lloyd*, about this time, are the following expressions, viz.—“No honour, interest, or pleasure, in this part of the world, shall be able to check my desires to live and die among you; and, though to my grief, my stay is yet prolonged, on private and public accounts, yet, depend upon it, *Pennsylvania* is my worldly delight, and end of all places on the earth.

W. Penn
longs to be
in Pennsylv-
vania.

“Now, though I have, to please thee, given thee a *quietus* from all public business, my intention is to constitute thee Deputy Governour, and two, in the character of assistants; either of whom and thyself, to be able to do all as fully as I myself can do; only I wait thy consent to the employment;

penter, who, I hope will accept, and industriously serve that station, *else Thomas Ellis*; who has an office, that requires his attendance, having one in my eye, that may see you shortly, as a man richly qualified for that station: *Robert Turner*, of course has the Chair, for the first month after the receipt of this, and the rest alternately, monthly, if you find that convenient, as, I believe, it will be most easy, *else* let the senior commissioner have it always.

“I have only to recommend to you, the due execution of the diverse good laws, among you, impartially and diligently, not neglecting the order, from hence sent, especially for peace and concord.—Government is not to make, but to do and dispatch business; in which few words, and a quiet, but a brisk execution does best; wherefore consider well what is just and fit, the one in law, the other in prudence (where you have room to use it) pursue in all cases; and no matter what any say, or object.

“I write to you about my *Quit-rents*: I am forced to pay bills here, to support my family there, while I have 4 or 500 pounds per annum in *Quit-rents* there; you may remember the votes of Council, to pay my charges in this expedition: I could draw a large bill upon the provincial council, in that respect; I am sure I need it, but have forebore; though it is none of the endearingest considerations, that I have not had the present of a skin, or a pound of tobacco since I came over: though they are like to have the most advantage by it, and promised me so much!—

“Pray, prevent people’s withdrawing from us, what you can; they cannot mend themselves; and they that go will find it so, in a while; for I believe, *God has blessed that poor place*; and the reason of my stay here, and the service I am, and have been of, to the conscientious, shall be rewarded on my solitary province.—Remember me to the people, and let them know, my heart’s desire towards them; and shall embrace the first opportunity to make my abode with them.

“Once more, let me hear from you, and have a copy of the laws, or my other letter directs, and you shall soon hear from me to your content; so I bid you heartily farewell.

“Given at *Holland-house*, this 27th. of the Tenth-month, 1682.

ment; of which advise me," &c.—“ by all 1688.
 reverent, tender and friendly, I beseech thy
 condescension and help, for that poor pro-
 I am here serving God and friends, and the
 ; which I hope God will reward to mine and
 &c.

He is im-
 portantly
 employ'd in
 England.

withstanding the strict friendship, and good
 ition, which, from the beginning, had been
 cultivated and established by the Proprietary
 inhabitants, or first settlers, of the province,
 the *Indians*, and, afterwards pursued in such
 er, as to leave no reasonable cause for fears
 suspicions between them; yet, as in all coun-
 wickedly disposed persons are found, whose
 it is, if possible, to disturb the public tran-
 y; so we find, in the infancy of this colony,
 justice, peace and harmony so universally
 minated, it was possible, nevertheless, for
 eports, and vain rumours to take place, and
 so far on ungarded minds, as to create very
 ing apprehensions, respecting the *Indians*;—
 onfideration of their large numbers, at that
 in proportion to the fewness of the *European*
 s; rather favouring such apprehensions; of
 we have the following instance.

Of an In-
 dian alarm.

or about, the year 1688, the inhabitants of
delphia, and places adjacent, were alarmed
 with

1, Third month,—the names of the Members of Assembly were,

<i>Philade'phia.</i>	<i>For Bucks.</i>	<i>For Chester.</i>
Wm. Morrey,	Thomas Langhorne,	John Blunston,
J. Salway,	Robert Hall,	George Maria,
J. Evan,	Nicholas Walne,	Bartholo. Coppock,
J. Cook,	Robert Lucas,	Caleb Pusey,
Pastorius,	Henry Baker,	Edward Bezar,
Paul,	Edward Bennet,	Randel Vernon.
<i>New Castle.</i>	<i>For Kent.</i>	<i>For Sussex.</i>
J. Dehaes,	John Brinkloe,	Luke Watson,
J. Blake,	William Berry,	Henry Smith,
Hollingsworth,	Richard Wilson,	Henry Molestine,
White, <i>Speaker</i> ,	Thomas Pemberton,	Henry Bowman,
Barby,	William Freeland,	Samuel Gray,
J. Noble.	Benoni Bishop.	Henry Stretcher.

1688. with the report of an intended insurrection of the *Indians*, to cut off all the *English*, on a certain appointed day. This was communicated by two *Indian women of West-Jersey*, to an old *Dutch* inhabitant, near *Chester*, to be on the next fourth day of the week. Several *Friends* or *Quakers*, upon hearing this report, being conscious of their just conduct towards the *Indians*, and sensible of nothing that could reasonably disgust them, endeavoured to appease the people's fears. The said fourth day being come, about ten o'clock, in the night, a messenger arrived at *Chester*, out of the woods, and told the people, that three families, about nine miles distant, which he named, were all cut off by the *Indians*.—This report coming to a *Friend*, then at *Chester*, about midnight he took with him two young men, on horseback, to the place, in order to examine into the truth of the affair.—They found the three houses, but no body in them, and yet no signs of murder;—their inhabitants, alarmed in a similar manner, had fled to the houses of their parents, at *Ridley* creek, about a mile from thence. The master of one of these families, being from home, had been informed five hundred *Indians* were actually collected at *Naaman's* creek, in pursuit of their design, to kill the *English*; and as he was hastening to his house, he thought he heard his boy crying out, and saying, “*What shall I do, my Dame is killed!*” Upon which, instead of going home, to know the certainty of the affair, he ran off, to acquaint the government, at *Philadelphia*; but being met by a person of more prudence than himself, before he got to the city, he was persuaded by him to return.—

The report notwithstanding soon arrived at the city; and was told with such alarming circumstances, that a messenger was immediately dispatched to *Marcus Hook*, near the said *Naaman's* creek to enquire the truth of it. He quickly returned

turned and confirmed the report, but with this variation; that it was at *Brandywine* creek, at an *Indian* town, where the five hundred *Indians* were assembled; and, that they, having a lame king, had carried him away, with all their women and children. These circumstances rendered the affair still more alarming, and, with many, amounted to a certainty.

1688.
An Indian
alarm, &c.

The Council were, at that time, sitting at *Philadelphia* on other affairs, when one of them, a *Friend*, supposed to be *Caleb Pusey*,* who lived in *Chester* county, voluntarily offered himself to go to the place, provided they would name five others to accompany him, without weapons; which being soon agreed on, they rode to the place; but, instead of meeting with five hundred warriors, they found the *old king* quietly lying, with his lame foot along on the ground, and his head, at ease, on a kind of pillow, the women at work, in the field, and the children playing together.—

When they had entered the *wigwam*, the king presently asked them very mildly, “*What they all came for?*” They told him the report, which the *Indian* women had raised; and asked him, whether the *Indians* had any thing against the *English*? He appeared much displeased at the report and said, “The women ought to be burnt to death; and that they had nothing against the *English*,”—adding, “’Tis true there are about fifteen pounds yet behind

[43.]

* *Caleb Pusey* came from *London* to *Pennsylvania*, with his family, in 1682; and from that time till his death, near 45 years, was a very useful and valuable member of society, both religious and civil. He was long one of the Provincial and Governor’s council; and divers times in the Assembly:—He is said to have been a man of good example, both in public and private life; and esteemed a worthy Elder among his friends the *Quakers*.—By his care, part of the materials, from which this history of *Pennsylvania* is composed, were preserved;—being a man of good understanding and abilities, in divers respects; and in the relation of a neighbour, husband, parent, master and friend, had particularly an amiable character. He lived in *Chester* county; and died in the Twelfth month, 1725, in the 76th. year of his age.

1688. behind of our pay for the land, which *William Penn* bought, but as you are still on it, and improving it, to your own use, we are not in haste for our pay; but when the *English* come to settle it, we expect to be paid."—This, the messengers, thinking very reasonable, told him, they would undoubtedly be paid for their land.—

An Indian
alarm, &c.

One of the company further expressed himself to the *Indian* king, in the following manner; "That the great God, who made the world, and all things therein, consequently made all mankind, both *Indians* and *English*; and as he made all, so his love was extended to all; which, was plainly shewn, by his causing the rain and dews to fall on the ground of both *Indians* and *English* alike; that it might equally produce what the *Indians*, as well as what the *English* sowed or planted in it, for the sustenance of life; and also by his making the sun to shine equally on all, both *Indians* and *English*, to nourish them; and that seeing the great Being, which made them all, extended his love thus to all, so they were mutually bound to love one another."—

The king answered, "What they had said was true; and as God has given you corn, I would advise you to get it in; (it being then harvest time) for we intend you no harm."—They parted amicably; and the messengers, returning, put an end to the people's fears.

Appointment of Lieutenant Governor Blackwell. In consequence of *Thomas Lloyd's* request, to be released from the public affairs of the government, in the latter part of the year 1688, he was accordingly succeeded by Captain *John Blackwell*;* who arrived

* *Blackwell's* wife was general *Lambert's* daughter; she, coming to *William Penn*, on other business, soon after he received this application from *Thomas Lloyd*, was asked by him, whether she thought her husband (who was then in *New England*, and for whom *William Penn*, by some of his letters, seems to have had a great esteem) would accept of the government of *Pennsylvania*?—She answered, "He would." A commission was therefore sent him, with the following instructions, viz.

arrived in the Tenth-month this year; whom the Proprietary had commissioned to be his Lieutenant Governor. He was a person, whom *William Penn* seems to have highly esteemed; and, at the time of his appointment, was in *New England*.

Blackwell

(*L. S.*) "Instructions for Lieutenant Governor *Blackwell*, or whom else they may concern.

I. "THAT things be transacted in my name, by the style of my patent only, viz. *Absolute Proprietary of Pennsylvania, &c.* if not contrary to the charter and laws of the Province, as I suppose not.

II. "That commissions signed and sealed by me here shall be sufficient warrants and directions to pass them under the great seal.

III. "To collect the laws, that are in being, and send them over to me, in a stitched book, by the very first opportunity; which I have hitherto often, and so much, in vain, desired.

IV. "To be careful that speedy, as well as thorough and impartial justice be done; and virtue, in all, cherished, and vice, in all, punished.

V. "That fines be in proportion, both to the fault and ability of the party, that so they may be paid.

VI. "That feuds between persuasions, or nations, or countries, be suppressed and extinguished, if any be; and, if none, that by a good conduct, they may be prevented.

VII. "That the widow, orphan, and absent may be particularly regarded, in their rights; for their cry will be loudest in all ears; but, by absent, I mean such as are so of necessity.

VIII. "To countenance the Commissioners of property, where land is unseated, or people are unruly in their settlements, or comply not with reasonable obligations, about bounds, banks, timber, &c. For though we come to a wilderness, it was not that we should continue it so.

IX. "That the Sheriffs of their respective counties be charged with the receipt of my rents, fines, &c. as they do in *England*, and give security to the Receiver General, for the same.

X. "To have a special care, that Sheriffs and clerks of the peace impose not upon the people; and that the magistrates live peaceably and soberly;—for I could not endure one loose, or litigious person in authority.—Let them be men having some fear of God, and hating covetousness, whatever be their persuasion: to employ others is to profane an ordinance of God.

XI. "That care be taken of the roads, and high-ways, in the country; that they may be straight and commodious for travellers; for I understand, they are turned about by the planters; which is a mischief, that must not be endured.

XII. "Consider by what means, or methods, the good and prosperity of the plantation may be promoted; what laws, in being, are unnecessary, or defective, and what are wanting; and in each particular hereof, let me have advice as distinctly, and as speedily as may be.

XIII. "Rule the meek meekly; and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority; and God Almighty prosper all honest and prudent endeavours.

"Given at *London*, this 25th. of the Seventh-month, 1688.

"*WILLIAM PENN.*"

1689. *Blackwell* met the Assembly in the Third-month 1689; but, by reason of some misunderstanding, or dissension, between him and some of the Council, the public affairs were not managed with the desired harmony and satisfaction; and but little done during his administration, which continued only till the Twelfth-month this year, when he returned to *England*;* and the government of the province, according to charter, devolved again on the Council, *Thomas Lloyd*, President.

Governor
Blackwell
disagrees
with the
Council &
returns to
England.

Elected
amo. 11th.
1690.

Reasons for
Blackwell's
appoint-
ment, &c.

The appointment of *Blackwell*, who was no *Quaker*, to be Deputy Governor, appears, by the Proprietary's letters to his friends, in the province, to have been, because no suitable person, who was of that society, would undertake the office; that his views thereby were more for the public good, than his own private interest; which, he declares, he was sorry were not answered according to his expectation; and that notwithstanding he was apprehensive occasion had been given by some particulars, in the province, for this misunderstanding, yet, that he had duly regarded their complaints, and afforded them suitable relief.

Cicero.

* *William Penn*, in a letter to one of his friends in *Pennsylvania*, dated the 30th. of the Tenth-month, 1689, respecting the appointment, &c. of Governor *Blackwell*, declares,

—“Since no *Friend* would undertake the Governor's place, I took one that was not, and a stranger; that he might be impartial, and more revered: He is, in *England* and *Ireland*, of great repute, for ability, integrity and virtue; I thought I did well; it was for good; the Lord knows it, and no end of my own. You see what I have done upon the complaints; but I must say, I fear his peevishness to some Friends has not risen out of the dust, without occasion, if any where, let it be searched out and judged: the Lord keep us all in the gentle mind that is easy to be entreated,” &c.—“Bear with me, God knows, if I love you, or no, or desire my lot to be with you;”—“I have sought the province more than myself,” &c.

Of the active members of Council, about the time of *Blackwell's* administration, appear the following names, viz.

John Simcock,
William Clark,
Arthur Cook,
William Stockdale,
William Yardly,
Luke Watson,
John Cann,

Samuel Richardson
Griffith Jones,
Thomas Duckett,
Griffith Owen,
John Brinkloe,
Johannes Dehaes.

Cicero was justly called the father of his country, 1689. for preserving it from the designs of a most detestable rebellion, but *William Penn*, with still greater propriety, may be styled the parent of his: In that he not only planted it with industry and virtue, and endowed it with a generous and excellent constitution, but with unremitted care and assiduity, he also cherished it with the best and most affectionate advice and instruction;* tending more

W. Penn
may justly
be styled
Father of
his country.

* The following, which he writ them this year, are specimens of this kind, viz.

" *My dear Friends and Brethren,*

" IF it be with you, as I can say it is with me, in the presence of God, then are we one in him; for neither length of days, nor distance of place, nor all the many waters, between us, can separate my heart and affection from you: but my love, yea, the love of God, my Father, and your Father, abounds towards you, with endeared salutations to you all, and an holy kiss in *Christ*: and for you, and the blessing of you and yours, with grace, peace and prosperity, are my knees bowed to the God of all our mercies and preservations; that an holy, blameless people, without guile and wrath, brawling and selfishness, you may be made and kept, in all things; that God may spread his great Name over you, and a make wall of defence about you, and create a glory upon the same, to your unspeakable joy, and the renown of his own great power. For this my eyes have beheld under the sun, that all is vanity, in comparison of him; and that happy and blessed is that people, whose God is the Lord: for the nation, or province, upon the earth, that will not reverence him, and call, in righteousness, upon him, and, in all their undertakings, have his glory first in their eye, shall be cut off: He will vex, visit and trouble that people, that they may know he ruleth in the kingdoms of men. Wherefore, the Lord guide you, by his own spirit, and preserve you a lively, green and savory people to his praise.

" Great revolutions have been, of late, in this land of your nativity; and where they may period, the Lord knows. It can be no new thing for us, to meet with exercises. *Europe* looks like a sea of trouble.—Wars all over it like to be this Summer.—I strongly desire to see you, before it be spent, if the Lord will; and I can say in his sight, that, to improve my interest with King *James*, for tender consciences, and that a *Christian liberty might be legally settled*, though *against my own interest*, was that which has separated me from you chiefly—I desire your remembrance before the Lord; as you are not, and cannot be, forgotten, in my addresses and approaches to him; who rest in his unchangeable love, dear friends and brethren, your's unalterably, in the communion of the blessed truth,

" WILLIAM PENN,

" *The 2d. of the First-month, 1689.*"

" *Hammermith, the 30th. of the Tenth-month, 1689.*

" *Dear Friends,*

" I cannot slip this opportunity; but send you the endeared salutations of my love, that, in the truth, gives me frequent occasions to remember you, and earnestly desire your preservation to God, as well as your

1689. more effectually to fix and confirm that bond of
 ~~~~~ love and affection, between him and his people,  
 upon

your comfort and prosperity in outward things; about which have a care, that they grow not too fast upon you, nor too many for you; I mean, as to the care and concerns, that attend them, in the exercise of your spirits: for it is a blessed state, to enjoy and use of the world, in the dominion of his life and power, that has quickened us, by his light and spirit a people to himself: for, in this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed, in the first place, that we set him on our right hand; that we set him continually before our eyes; and that our eye be directed towards him, in all things, as the eye of a handmaid to her mistress; that we may be able to say, in truth and righteousness, we have none in Heaven, but him, nor any on earth, besides him. This it is, that keeps God's people every where; for hereby they put on Christ, in all his blessed teachings and leadings, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof: Friends, *they are deep words, and deeper things.*—I know you understand me, and I hope you feel me, who have your eyes to the mark, and look to the joy before you, that is above all things, in this momentary, troublesome and busy world.—And, now, friends, I have a word more to you; and that is this, that faith, hope and charity are the great helps and marks of true *Christians*; but above all *charity* is the love of God, or divine love;—blessed are they, that are come to it and hold the truth in it, and work and act in it; for they, poor indeed in spirit, of their own, but rich in God's;—they are meek;—they inherit;—all other states are a brangle, in comparison; but this enjoys;—this possesses; this reigns! O, come into this love more and more; for to this shall all gifts and operations give place; and they do so, in the hearts of those, that are come to know *Charity* greatest in them.—It will preserve peace in the church;—peace in the state;—peace in families, aye, and peace in particular bosoms. God Almighty draw, I beseech him, all your hearts into this heavenly love more and more, and that the work of it may shine out, to God's glory and your comfort.

“For matters here;—as to myself, I am well and free;—and for the church of God, liberty continues. But, in the nations of *Europe*, great wars, and rumours of wars, such as have not been almost from the beginning. Suns are turning into darkness, and moons into blood; for the notable day is at the door.—It could not be born for some of you, when you went for *America*, that such a day should come; but coming it is; for almost every eye sees it, and tongue says it; some thousands, alas! have already felt it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord, in your hearts; be satisfied in him, in your lot; and walk worthy of his daily mercy and attendance upon you, and care over you, and the Lord keep you to the end. I am, in truth, that makes us near to God, and one to another,

“Your faithful friend and brother,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

In this year likewise I find the following copy of a letter from the Proprietor, said to be read in Council, dated, *London*, the 12th. of the Sixth-month, 1689, viz.

“Friends,

“I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit upon my farther stop, in these parts, to throw all into your hands; that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon  
 the

upon the most certain and lasting foundation; 1689. which is the best preservative against all disorders:—He treated them as beloved children; while they regarded him as a tender father: This, in part, appears, by his various epistles of this nature, besides those respecting the more temporal concerns of the province; which, from time to time, he writ to them, during his life; and in a language more pathetic and endearing, it is impossible for the most affectionate parent to address his beloved offspring; of these that are yet extant, I find several this year; a specimen of which appears below, in the notes.

W. Penn's affection.

The year 1689 gave rise to the *Friends' public school*, in *Philadelphia*; which afterwards, in the year 1697, upon the petition of *Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, James Fox, David Lloyd, William Southby* and *John Jones*, in behalf of themselves and others, to Deputy *Markham*, was first incorporated by charter; and, after that, confirmed by a fresh patent from *William Penn*, dated the 25th. of October 1701; and also by another, dated the 22d. of the Fifth-month 1708; whereby the corporation was, "*For ever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons,*

Rise of the Friends' School in Philadelphia, &c.

the government, and the diligent pursuit of peace and virtue; and God Almighty strengthen your hands, in so good a work. I also recommend to you the particular discipline of that town you meet in: that sobriety and gravity be maintained, and authority kept in respect.—As it comes in your way, countenance my officers in collecting my small revenue.—Let the laws, you pass, hold so long only as I shall not declare my dissent; that so my share may not lye excluded, or finally concluded, without my notice; in fine, let them be confirmable by me, as you will see by the commission I left, when I left the province.—And if you desire a Deputy Governor, rather name three, or five, and I shall name one of them;—so as you consider of a comfortable subsistence; that the government may not go a begging.—I do not do this, to lye a binding precedent, but to give you, and the people you represent, the fullest pledges I am able, at this distance, of my regard to them. Whatever you do, I desire, beseech and charge you all to avoid factions and parties, whisperings and reportings, and all animosities; that, putting your common shoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots; and so I bid you heartily farewell.

" WILLIAM PENN.

" Given at *London*, this 12th. of the Sixth-month, 1689."

1689. *persons, of the people called Quakers, by the name of, The Overseers of the public school, found in Philadelphia, at the request, cost and charges of the people called Quakers;*" but its last and present charter, from William Penn, confirming all the preceding charters, and further extending the corporation, with larger powers and privileges, &c. is dated the 29th. of November, 1711; wherein the Overseers, nominated and appointed, were *Samuel Carpenter, the elder, Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Anthony Morris, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, Nathan Stanbury, Thomas Masters, Nicholas Waln, Caleb Pusey, Rowland Ellis and James Logan;* by which charter the Overseers were afterwards to be chosen by the corporation.

its design.

This was the first institution of the kind, in *Pennsylvania*, intended not only to facilitate the acquisition of the more generally used parts of learning, among all ranks, or degrees, of the people, (the poorer sort being taught gratis, and the rich, or more wealthy, still paying a proportion for their children's instruction) but also the better, and more extensively to promote a virtuous and learned education, than could be affected by any other manner, was the end of the design: Which, in the preamble to the said present charter, is thus expressed, *viz.*—

"Whereas, the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves, by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex, age and degree; which cannot be affected, in any manner, so well as by erecting *public schools*, for the purposes aforesaid." &c.

For

For these laudable purposes, therefore, a number of the principal inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, being *Quakers*, in the Fifth-month this year, agreed with *George Keith*, who then resided at *Freehold* (now called *Monmouth*) in *New Jersey*, to undertake the charge. He accordingly removed to *Philadelphia*, and was the first master of that school; but continued only about one year.\* 1689.

\* "*George Keith* was a native of *Aberdeen*, in *Scotland*, a man of learning, and had been of note among the *Quakers*, &c. (of which see more hereafter.) He came to *East Jersey* divers years before this time; was afterwards Surveyor-general of that division; and, in 1687, he ascertained and marked the line of division between *East* and *West Jersey*. His salary for officiating in this school, was fifty pounds per annum, with a house for his family to live in, a school-house provided, and the profits of the school beside, for one year. For two years more his school was to be made worth one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, if he thought fit to stay so long; he was to teach the poor gratis. He continued in this station about one year, and then his usher, *Thomas Makin*, was, at his desire, appointed to succeed him, &c.

*Note.*—The terms for teaching, &c. here, in early time, appear by the following extract from the journals of Council, viz.

"Tenth-month 26th. 1683, *Enoch Flower* undertakes to teach school in the town of *Philadelphia*, on the following terms, viz.

"To learn to read *English*, four shillings by the quarter; to write, six shillings by ditto; to read, write and cast accounts, eight shillings by the quarter: boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, lodging, washing and schooling, ten pounds for one whole year."

*Note.*—*Enoch Flower* is said to have come from *Corham* in *Wiltshire*.

## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER X.

*William Penn's troubles and difficulties after the revolution in England.—He is prevented by his enemies from visiting and assisting the province in a time of its greatest need.—Extract from his letter to Thomas Lloyd.—His epistle to his friends in London.—Disagreement between the province and territories.—Declaration of the Council, and other proceedings relating to the difference.—Names of the members of Assembly, in 1690.—Two Deputy Governors.—The Proprietor's concern at this difference.—Extract from one of his letters, respecting it.—Further proceedings of the province.—A promulgated bill.—Names of some members of Council.—A letter of the two Deputies and their Councils to the Proprietary, &c.*

W. Penn's  
affairs about  
the time of  
the revolution  
in 1688  
&c.

IT has already been observed, that, during most of the time since the Proprietary's return to *England*, in 1684, much of his public action and service were in that nation; and that his intimacy at court, and friendship with King *James the Second*, which his great obligation to that royal family, and the situation of his own affairs may, both from gratitude and interest, easily account for, exposed him to many unjust censures; but in the year 1688, upon the change of government, the state of his affairs there began to have a very different, and more unfavourable aspect:—For the attempts which had been made by the King, in favour of *popery* and *arbitrary power*, had occasioned the measures of the *revolution*, which now began to take place in the government there, by means

means of the *Prince of Orange*, “who landed at *Torbay*, in *Devonshire*, on the fifth of November, 1688, to the great joy of the *English* nation. Many of King *James’s* officers and army soon joined the *Prince*; and the King, perceiving the hearts of the people alienated from him, withdrew himself, and went over to *France*. Hence by a *Convention*, called shortly after, the said *Prince of Orange*, and the *Princess Mary*, his consort, King *James’s* daughter, were declared King and Queen of *England*, &c. and were proclaimed on the thirteenth of February, 1688-9.

W. Penn’s  
affairs about  
the time of  
the revolution  
in 1688  
&c.

“Upon this turn of the times, *William Penn’s* late friendship at court having rendered him suspected of disaffection to the present government, on the tenth of December, 1688, when he was walking in *White-Hall*, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council, then sitting; and though nothing appeared against him, and himself assured them, — “That he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country, and the Protestant religion above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at, in his public endeavours, was no other than what the *Prince* himself had declared for; that King *James* was always his friend, and in gratitude, he was the King’s, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest.”—Notwithstanding they obliged him to give securities for his appearance the first day of the *next term*, which he did; and then he was continued, on the same security, to *Easter-term* following; on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

“In the year 1690, he was again brought before the Lords of the Council, upon an accusation of holding a correspondence with the late King *James*; and they requiring sureties for his appearance,



W. Penn's <sup>W. Penn's</sup>ance, he appealed to King *William* himself; who, <sup>after a conference of near two hours, inclined to</sup> <sup>acquit him, but, to please some of the Council,</sup> <sup>he was held upon bail, for a while; and, in *Trinity-term*, the same year, was again discharged.</sup>

"He was attacked a third time, and his name inserted in a proclamation, dated July the 18th. 1690; wherein he, with divers others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the kingdom's enemies; but proof failing, respecting him, he was again cleared by order of the *King's-bench Court*, at *Westminster*, in the last day of *Michaelmas-term*, 1690.

"Being now again at liberty, he proposed to go a second time to *Pennsylvania*, and published proposals in print, for another settlement there. He had so far prepared for this transportation that an order for a convoy was granted him by the Secretary of State, when his voyage was prevented by a fresh accusation against him, backed with the oath of one *William Fuller*, a wretch, afterwards by Parliament declared a *cheat and impostor*; and a warrant was thereupon granted, for his apprehension; which he narrowly escaped, at his return from the funeral of *George Fox*, the first preacher among the *Quakers*, on the 16th. of January, 1690-1."\*

Though

\* *W. Penn*, in a letter to *Thomas Lloyd*, dated, "*England*, the 14th. of the Fourth-month, 1691," writes on this subject, as follows:—

"Dear Friend,

"My love, in the unchangeable truth, salutes thee and thine, and the friends and family of God, in those parts, desiring your temporal and everlasting welfare, with an unfeigned affection.

"By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return, being in the midst of my preparations, with a great company of adventurers, when they fell upon me.—The jealousies of some, and unworthy dealing of others have made way for them; but under and over it all, the ancient rock has been my shelter and comfort, and I hope yet to see your faces, with our ancient satisfaction.—The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be, in all conditions; for this world passeth away, and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth.

Though *William Penn* had hitherto defended himself before the King and Council, yet he now thought it more prudent to retire, than to hazard the sacrificing of his *innocence* to the oaths of a *profligate villain*; accordingly after an expensive preparation for a large embarkation of fresh colonists for *America*, he was not only obliged to desist therefrom, and, at a most critical and necessitous time, in the affairs of his young country to decline furnishing a large increase to its inhabitants, and those means, for its further regulation, establishment

1690.  
W. Penn  
obliged to  
retire in pri-  
vate, &c.

To the  
great disad-  
vantage of  
his affairs,  
and those of  
his province  
&c.

"I hope I need not urge my circumstances, to excite thy love, care and concern for me and my suffering interest, in that country. I know thou hast better learned *Cicero* and *Cato*, if I may so say, and wilt embrace such an opportunity to chuse to express thy friendship and sincerity; nor is uncertainty and changeableness thy fault; wherefore I will say no more, but desire that my afflictions may cease, if not cure your animosities, or discontents, within yourselves, if yet they have continued; and that thou wilt both in government, and to my Commissioners of property, yield thy assistance all thou canst.—By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future service, even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an *ungrateful generation*, it is punishment!—It has been 20,000 pounds to my damage, in the country, and above 10,000 pounds here, and to the province 500 families; but the wise God, that can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded, all shall yet work together for good, in this very thing, if we can overlook all, that stands in the way of our views Godward, in public matters.—See that all be done prudently and humbly; and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. The Lord God Almighty be with you, and amongst you, to his praise and your peace. Salute me to John Simcock, R. Turner, A. Cook, T. Janny, Ph. Pemberton, S. Richardson, W. Yardly, the Welch Friends, and Plimouth Friends, indeed to all of them.—

"Thou hast heard of our great loss of dear *John Burnyeat*, and *Robert Lodge*, one in *Ireland*, and t'other in *England*, in about the same week; and *Robert Barclay*, *Tb. Saltbouse*, and dearly beloved *George Fox* since:—He died at *Henry Gouldney's*, by *Gracious-street* meeting-house; where he preached his farewell the First-day, and departed the Third, at Night, between nine and ten.—I was with him; he earnestly recommended to me his love to you all; and said, *William*, mind poor Friends in *America*; he died triumphantly over death, very easily foresaw his change; he was buried on the Sixth-day; like a general meeting; 2000 people at his burial, Friends and others:—I was never more public than that day; I felt myself easy; he was got into his *Inn*, before the storm that is coming overtook him; and that night, very providentially I escaped the messenger's hands:—I shall add only, that Friends have had an extraordinary time, this *General Meeting*; so that God supplied that visible loss with his glorious presence. *R. Davies* there, but not thy brother. In sincere love I bid thee, thy wife and family, and friends, farewell.

"Thy true friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

1690. ment and happiness, which, it was most probable such an addition, with his presence, would have administered, but he also appeared very little in public, for two or three years afterwards; and the great disadvantage and embarrassment, which this disappointment occasioned, both in his private affairs, and those of his colony, at this time, appear, in its effects, the more considerable, on account of the disorder, or dissension, between the province and territories; and also the religious disturbance, in the affair of *George Keith*; both which began about this time; which, it is most probable, his long wanted presence and abilities there would have prevented, or, at least, some of the consequences of them.

He writes  
in his retire-  
ment.

Yet the product of this retirement was several valuable treatises, on divers subjects, which, both for his own amusement, and the common good of the present and future times, he writ, during this restraint upon his liberty, till the latter end of the year, 1693; which, as they are extant in his printed works, the world would otherwise, probably, never have seen, nor had the advantage of them. But, first, respecting his retirement, lest his *Friends*, the *Quakers*, should entertain any sinister thoughts of him, he sent the following epistle to their *Yearly-meeting*, in *London*, viz.

“ The 30th. of the Third-month, 1691.

“ *My beloved, dear and honoured brethren,*

W. Penn's  
Epistle to  
his Friends  
in London,  
in 1691.

“ MY unchangeable love salutes you; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy: Receive no evil surmises, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me, your *afflicted*, but *not forsaken* friend and brother. *My enemies are yours*, and

in the ground, mine for your sakes; and that God feeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not, because men have sworn *truly*, but *falsely*, against me; "*For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not;*" who have never fought *myself*, but the good of all, through great exercises; and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with him, that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some, but we may yet meet in the congregations of his people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort: The everlasting God of his chosen, in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with his blessed presence! that his tender, meek, lowly and heavenly love and life, may flow among you, and that he would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you, desiring to be remembered of you before him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you, in the nearest relation,

*"Your faithful friend and brother,*

*"WILLIAM PENN."*

Though the Proprietary had, both by charter and otherwise, endeavoured to connect the province and territories of *Pennsylvania*, in legislation and government, so as to form one General Assembly, yet the jealousies, and difference of sentiment, in some cases, which afterwards arose between the Representatives of each part, in their legislative capacity, tending to create separate interests, and a rupture between them, were frequently the occasion of great uneasiness to him; whose view was always to keep them united, judging it most for the interest of them both, as well as his own.

W. Penn's  
Epistle to  
his Friends  
in London,  
in 1691.

1690. Hence, after *Blackwell's* departure for *England*, in the year 1690, the irregularities, which ensued, or were attempted, in consequence of this difference, appear, by the following declaration of the Council, and other public proceedings, viz.

(L. S.) “ *By the President and Council of Pennsylvania and counties annexed.*

“ Present,

“ Thomas Lloyd, *President.*

|                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| “ John Simcock,      | Samuel Richardson, |
| “ William Clark,     | Griffith Jones,    |
| “ Arthur Cook,       | Thomas Duckett,    |
| “ William Stockdale, | Griffith Owen.     |
| “ William Yardly,    |                    |

Declaration  
of the Pre-  
sident and  
Council, in  
1690.

\* Viz. *Tbo.*  
*Lloyd*, 11th.  
of the 2mo.  
1689-90.

“ WHEREAS, the Provincial Council, according to the powers of the present commission of government, have, at their first sitting, chosen a President,\* and have since, in a legislative council, continued him, till they should see cause to alter their choice; and having likewise ordered the succeeding councils to be called by him, or, in his absence, by notice sent by six members from this place; yet, notwithstanding, these members, *William Clark, Luke Watson, Griffith Jones, John Brinkloe, John Cann, Johannes D'Haes*, did privately meet together, in the council-room, upon the twenty-first instant, without signifying the least syllable of their intentions, of having a council, either to *Thomas Lloyd*, the elected and continued President, or to any member of the *province*; and there, in an irregular and undue manner, have presumed to act, as a council, and have issued forth pretended commissions, for constituting Provincial Judges, contrary to the express letter of the laws, and have nominated some therein, who, under their present circumstances, are unqualified for that station; as, upon occasion, shall be made appear; and have voted extravagant and contradictory

contradictory orders. This board, having well considered their disorderly and unprecedented way of meeting, cannot but entirely disallow and disown their so clandestine meeting, to be a council; for should such a proceeding be, in the least countenanced, the consequence thereof would unavoidably introduce a rupture and confusion, in the present frame of government: For, by the same reason, that any six members privately met, without notice had from, or given to, any of the rest, may represent the Governor and Council, in this place, by the same methods, two other six members elsewhere may represent two Governors and Councils more, at the same time, in this government;\* which is an absurdity, not to be tolerated. And further, this Council, being under an obligation of asserting the Governor's power and authority, lodged in a regular Provincial Council, and for the undeceiving of many well minded persons, who otherwise may be abused by their late sitting, have unanimously, by this instrument, in writing, declared this to be our sense and judgment, that all entries, orders and commissions made and given forth by the aforesaid six members, at the council-room, upon the twenty-first instant, are hereby deemed null, and of no force.

1690.  
Declaration  
of Council.

\* Note, the  
wholenumber  
was 18,  
3 for each  
county.

[45]

*Note.*—Third month, 1690, the names of the members of Assembly were:—

| <i>For Philadelphia.</i> | <i>For Bucks.</i>                | <i>For Chester.</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| William Salway,          | Joseph Growdon, <i>Speaker</i> , | John Bristow,       |
| Humphrey Morrey,         | Henry Paynter,                   | William Jenkins,    |
| Thomas Fitzwater,        | Richard Hough,                   | Robert Pile,        |
| Charles Pickering,       | Henry Baker,                     | Joshua Fern,        |
| Paul Saunders,           | Edmund Bennett,                  | George Maris,       |
| Abraham Updegrave.       | John Cook.                       | Caleb Puley.        |
| <i>For New Castle.</i>   | <i>For Kent.</i>                 | <i>For Sussex.</i>  |
| Edward Blake,            | John Barnes,                     | John Hill,          |
| Henry Williams,          | John Betts,                      | Samuel Gray,        |
| Richard Halliwell,       | Daniel Brown,                    | Robert Clifton,     |
| John Darby,              | Ez kiel Needham,                 | Henry Smith,        |
| William Grant,           | Richard Curtis,                  | Baptist Newcomb,    |
| John Donaldson,          | William Freeland,                | Thomas Branson.     |

1690. force. Whereof all Magistrates, officers and other persons concerned, in this government, are to take notice accordingly.

“ Given at *Philadelphia*, 26th. of the Ninth-month, 1690.

“ THOMAS LLOYD, *President*.”

This disagreement appears afterwards to have  
1691. increased, and, in the fore part of the year 1691, proceeded to greater extreme.\* The Proprietary, Three modes of whether to gratify, or indulge the humor of the Executive colony, and thereby induce a coalescence of the govern-ment offered by Wm. Penn. two parties, or with whatever other design, (which, no doubt, was well intended,) had left to the choice of the Council, three different methods; or modes, of the executive part of government, viz. either that of the Council, of five commissioners, or of a Deputy Governor: This affair, with other matters, being, about that time, agitated in Council, and the province, or the majority, inclining to the last of these methods, seven members,

\* The following proposals, said to be made to the Provincial Council, by *Griffith Jones* and *William Clark*, in behalf, and for the ease and satisfaction of the inhabitants of the three lower counties, or the territories, may further shew the views of the members for the said counties, in this affair, viz.

I. “ That there be forthwith a writ issued forth, for chusing a member of Council, for the county of *Sussex*, in the room of *Thomas Clifton*.

II. “ That the commissions given out, by both Councils, for judges, be wholly laid aside; and that the inhabitants of the three lower counties may recommend to the council two persons to be commissioned, for judges, to act the next Spring, and that to continue no longer.

III. “ That, at the next legislative council, a bill be proposed by the council, to enable the nine members of the lower counties, or any six of them, to appoint three judges, to act in that station, in the said three counties, and that there be also three for the province, always provided that the judges do act by the laws of *Pennsylvania*.

IV. “ That for the ease of the charge, there be a dispensing with the meeting of the Assembly, unless it be for the confirming of their deliberations.

V. “ That all other officers be, from time to time, appointed by the said nine members of the three lower counties, or any six of them, to act there; and that no other officers may be imposed upon them.

VI. “ That the fairs for *New castle* be confirmed unto them. And which being by you granted, we hope, may be a means to keep things quiet; which shall be diligently endeavoured by your real friends, although otherwise represented, or suspected.”

bers, for the lower counties, viz. *William Clark, 1691. John Cann, John Brinkloe, John Hill, Richard Halliwell, Albertus Jacobs and George Martin* drew up and signed a formal *protest*, or declaration, directed to the members of Council, of the province of *Pennsylvania*; dated, *Philadelphia*, the first of the Second-month, 1691.

In this they declared,—

*First*, “That the mode of the five commissi-  
oners was the most agreeable to them, or to the  
counties, which they represented.

Declaration  
and Protest  
of the lower  
Counties.

*Secondly*, “That the commission of the Council was the next, though much less convenient, than that of the five commissioners; on account of the encroachments thereby made upon their rights and privileges, by the province, in imposing officers upon them, without their consent, or approbation.

*Thirdly*, “That the method of a Deputy Governor was the most disagreeable and grievous of any; on account of the choice of all officers being placed in a single person, and the expence, or charge, of his support: therefore they would not agree to accept of that commission.

*Fourthly*, “But that, rather than the country should be without government, they would consent to that of the Council; provided no officers whatever were imposed upon any of the three lower counties, without the consent of the respective members of Council for these counties.

*Fifthly*, “That they desired to excuse themselves for not agreeing to have these things put to the vote; which, they said, they had experienced, the members for the province would scarce ever do, till they were sure it would go against them.

*Sixthly*, “That they, in behalf of the lower counties, *protested* against the acceptance of any commission, but that of the five persons, and re-  
*solved*,



1691. *solved*, that should the province act otherwise, they would govern themselves by the commission, then in force, till the Proprietary's pleasure should be known therein:"—And thereupon they immediately withdrew their attendance.

What just or sufficient cause, they had for this conduct, doth not clearly appear: it gave many of the members of the Provincial Council, as well as the Proprietary himself, much concern and uneasiness; and great endeavours were used, and much pains taken by both, to reconcile them; but not with all the desired success: for their greatest ostensible objection against this commission of a Deputy Governor, which the province most inclined to, appearing to be the expence of his support, and their jealousy of having their officers removed, so, to relieve their apprehensions, in these respects, &c. at President Lloyd's request, *John Simcock, John Bristow, John Delavall, with David Lloyd*, went after them, to *New-Castle*, to endeavour their return, &c. but in vain.\*

Endeavours  
used to re-  
concile  
them, &c.

Hence;

\* The President writ to them by these persons, as follows, viz. "*John Cann, John Brinkloe, George Martin, William Clark, R. Halliwell, John Hill, Albert Jacobs.*"

" *Friends,*

" I am sorry for this breach, which you have made upon the laws, charter and council procedure; you have withdrawn your attendance, without any just cause; lay aside obstinacy, wilful neglect and self interest, I cannot conceive what can support you, at last, but the absolute lenity of the Government. Recollect yourselves; consider well the confusion, to which this your rashness may expose you, and many innocent inhabitants of the lower counties; and return unto your duty, and representative service here, and we shall lovingly receive you, and so dispatch, I hope, in a short time, the present emergencies before us. And I do further, for your encouragement, assure you, and fully promise unto you, that the charge of the *Chair*, and support of me under this *present commission*, shall not press, nor burthen you, or them, whom you represent, *one penny*, unless you jointly, and at your voluntary accord, not only offer, but request the acceptance of your benevolence, through the method of a *General Assembly*.—I have not further at this time, but request you to be serious, and, if you desire to be *apart*, let it be done with the same solemnity, whereby you were united to us. Your officers, duly qualified, shall continue till our Proprietary's pleasure be further known, and not to be removed, without your respective concurrence. I expect to see you soon up with us.

" Your abused Friend and Chairman.

" *Council-room, the 4th. of the Second-month, 1691.*"

Hence, upon the province preferring the choice of a Deputy Governor, contrary to the mind of the territories, and *Thomas Lloyd* being preferred to that office, (which he appears to have accepted with some reluctance) the Proprietary commissioned him Governor of the province, and the Secretary, *William Markham*, who appears to have joined and retired with the protesting members, in their abrupt separation, was, in like manner, appointed over the lower counties, under certain restrictions.

1691.

Th. Lloyd  
Governor  
of the Pro-  
vince & W.  
Markham  
of the Ter-  
ritories.

This division of the Legislature appears to have been much against the Proprietary's mind; who seems to have apprehended dangerous, if not fatal, consequences from it.\* He blamed, or, at least, appeared,

W. Penn  
grieved at  
this division  
&c.

\* The Proprietary's sentiments and grief, on this occasion, appear, in part, in the following extract from one of his letters to a friend, viz.

29th of the Fourth-month, 1692.

" *Loving friend,*

" I have thine of the 13th. instant, thy love and good intention towards me I receive and accept. But, pray, consider how little I am in fault; and how ill I am rewarded by some in that Province.—I left it quiet, and the government in the council. *Thomas Lloyd* grew weary of this form; writ, and got others to write, to change it to a deputyship; I sent to know, if he would have it; in the meanwhile writ to me, he would not meddle, and desired a *quietus*, or dismiss:—Upon this captain *Blackwell's* wife, general *Lambert's* daughter, coming to me about presenting something of her husband's to the King; and remembering him to be a man of sobriety and parts, asked for him, then in *New England*; and if he would accept of the government of *Pennsylvania*, &c.—This displeased:—I altered and left it to them, to chuse either the government of the council, or five commissioners, or a deputy: What could be tenderer? Now I perceive *Thomas Lloyd* is chosen by the three upper, but not the three lower counties; and sits down with this broken choice: This has grieved and wounded me and mine, I fear to the hazard of all! Whatever the morals of the lower counties are, it was embraced as a mercy, that we got and united them to the province; and a great charter ties them; and this particular ambition has broken it; for the striving can arise from nothing else; and what is that spirit that would sooner divide the child; than let things run in their own channel, but that which sacrifices all bowels to wilfulness! Had they learned what this means, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, there had been no breaches nor animosities there till I had come, at least. I desire thee to write to them; which they will mind now more, than upon the spot; and lay their union upon them; for else the Governor of *New York* is like to have all; if he has it not already. The Lord forgive them their unspeakable injury to me and mine. I have sent, nine months ago, to *J. Goodson* a commission, if my letter prevails not, that was to unite them, that *Thomas Lloyd* be Gover-

nor

1691. appeared displeased with *Thomas Lloyd's* conduct, in accepting of a partial choice, or that of the province only, as if it were in his power to have prevented this division; but the Provincial Council excused him in a letter thereon to the Proprietary and entirely exculpated him from being accessory thereto, or in any manner promoting this disagreement, throwing the whole blame on the territory men: they declared, that, instead of being a gainer by any public offices, which he had held, *Thomas Lloyd* had *wasted*, or considerably *worsted* his estate thereby; that, as he was well known to be a lover and promoter of concord and union, and preferred a private life, so, "*He never accepted of that commission, but by the importunity of his friends, or, at the earnest request of the province itself.*" This letter was signed by *Arthur Cook*, *John Simcock*, *Samuel Richardson*, *James Fox*, *George Murrie* and *Samuel Carpenter*.

Duration  
of this mode  
of govern-  
ment, &c.

The province and territories continued, in this manner, about two years; or, till the arrival of Governor *Fletcher* of *New-York*, in April, 1693; and though they managed better, in this situation, than the Proprietary, at first, seems to have expected from it, and with more harmony than they had done, for some time before; nevertheless, it will hereafter appear that the continued refractoriness of the territories, in their refusing to accept of the new charter, in 1701, was, at length, the occasion of their total separation from the province, in legislation.


The

nor above, and captain *Markham*, below, under such and such restrictions, &c.—but hear not a word of this. I was going the Second-month at farthest, all things preparing, as friends of *London* know, when this trouble broke out upon me, in the Eleventh: and such have been my hardships, could not get clear without snares, &c. so, wait God's time, who has a hand in all this; and, I believe, in the end, every way, for good, so, in true love to thee and thine, and earnest desires to see their faces, I conclude

" Thy real friend,

" WILLIAM PENN."

The revolution and measures, taken by the province, in consequence of this conduct of the territories, with the form of the legislative proceeding, in the Deputyship of Governor *Lloyd*, which commenced about the Third-month, 1691, and under the charter then in force are, in part, exhibited by the following promulgated bills; which appear to have been passed into laws, in the same year, viz.

1691.  
  
 T. Lloyd,  
 Deputy Go-  
 vernor from  
 3mo. 10th.  
 1691.

“ The Deputy Governour and Freemen of the province of *Pennsylvania*, in Council met at *Philadelphia*, on the seventeenth day of the Sixth-month, 1691, have prepared and published, according to law and charter, these following bills, for the notice and concurrence of the Freemen, in Assembly to meet, the tenth day of the Seventh-month next, at *Philadelphia*, aforefaid, in the form and style of laws, then and there to be confirmed, amended, or rejected, as the General Assembly, in their wisdom, shall see meet.

“ At an Assembly held at *Philadelphia*, the tenth day of the Seventh-month, anno dom. 1691.

“ WHEREAS, by an act of General Assembly held at *Chester*, alias *Upland*, in the Tenth-month, 1682, it is, among other things, enacted by the Proprietary and Governor of this province of *Pennsylvania*, with the advice and consent of the Deputies of the Freemen of the same province and counties annexed, in the said Assembly met, that the counties of *New-Castle*, *Jones* and *Whorekills*, alias *Deal*, should be annexed, and are thereby annexed, unto the province of *Pennsylvania*, as of the proper territory thereof; and the people therein should be governed by the same laws, and enjoy the same privileges, in all respects, as the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* did, or should, enjoy from time to time, as by the same act, more at large appears:

A promul-  
gated bill.

But,

1691. But, lest the said Proprietary and Freemen of the said province should by the said union, be deprived of the immunities and powers then before invested in them, apart from the said annexed counties, by virtue of the King's letters patent, and first charter of liberties, or should otherwise be impeded or obstructed, in any act of government, which might relate to the public good, justice, peace and safety of the said province, which might not so immediately concern the territories, it was, at the same General Assembly, further enacted, that all matters and things, not therein provided for, which should, or might, concern the public good, justice, peace and safety of the said province, and the raising and imposing taxes, customs, duties, or charges whatsoever, should be, and are, thereby referred to the order, prudence and determination of the Governor and Freemen of the said province, from time to time; which said laws have been thence continued in, and by, the succeeding General Assemblies: Now, for as much as the present state and emergency of this government requires some speedy provision, for the support and safety thereof, and for the better establishing the justice and peace of the same, by reason of the breach, that the Representatives of the said annexed counties have lately made, in wilfully absenting themselves from their charteral attendance, in the last legislative Council and Assembly, and declining their other incumbent duties and services to the present constitutions of this province; as also, in opposing and tumultuously preventing the election of new members, to supply the neglect of the said absenting Representatives, withstanding all provincial acts of government, and denying the powers of the same: Therefore, for preventing all doubts and scruples concerning the meeting, sitting and proceeding of this present General Assembly, *Be it declared and enacted,*

*enacted*, and it is declared and enacted, by the 1691. Deputy Governor, with the assent of the Representatives of the Freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met, by the King and Queen's authority, that the meetings of Council, since the dissent and refusal aforesaid, of the Representatives of the said annexed counties, and the meetings of the Deputy Governor and Representatives of the province, in Provincial Council and Assembly met, on the tenth day of the Third-month last past, at *Philadelphia*, and now sitting, in this present General Assembly, are the Provincial Council and Assembly of this province of *Pennsylvania*; and are hereby declared, enacted and adjudged so to be, to all intents, constructions and purposes, notwithstanding the absence of the Representatives of the said counties annexed:—*And*, for removing all objections, that may arise concerning the validity, force and continuation of the laws of this government, *Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid*, That all these laws, that were made, continued and stood unrepealed at the last General Assembly, held at *New-Castle*, in the year 1690, are hereby declared and enacted to stand in force and be continued respectively, until the publication of other laws, which shall be made by the next General Assembly of this province.

“ *Ex per*

“ DAVID LLOYD, *Cl. Council*.”

As this division had occasioned much anxiety to the Proprietary, of which both parties were sensible,

[46]

so

In the minutes of the Provincial Council, in the Summer of the year 1691, appear the following names of the active members of that board, *viz.*

John Simcock,  
John Delavall,  
William Stockdale,  
Arthur Cook,  
Joseph Growdon,  
Griffith Owen,

John Curtis,  
Thomas Duckett,  
John Bristow,  
Thomas Janny,  
William Jenkins.

1692. so to relieve him, at least in part, from his apprehensions and uneasiness, on that account, in the fore-part of the year 1692, the two deputies and their Councils unitedly writ him the following letter, viz. From the Council-room at *Philadelphia*, the 6th. of the Second-month, 1692.

Both parties unitedly write to the Proprietor.

*“Worthy Governor,*

Their letter to him.

“THESE few lines, we hope, may much ease thy mind, in reference to thy exercises, concerning the affairs of thy government here, by informing thee, that, with unanimous accord, we rest satisfied with thy two deputations, sent for executive government of the province, and counties annexed: and thy deputies concurring amicably, at this time, to act as one general government, in legislation, we have proceeded in the preparing jointly some few bills; that thereby our present united actings may be as well published, as the respective services of the government answered.—What particular transactions of moment, which have occurred upon our calm debates of the *choice of three*, we refer to the minutes for thy satisfaction: We heartily wish thee well; and, with longing expectations, desire thy speedy return unto us; where, we doubt not, but thou wilt find a most grateful reception, and better face of affairs, than may seem to thee there, at this distance; so, bidding thee adieu, at this time, we remain,

“Thy faithful and well-wishing friends,

“THOMAS LLOYD.

“WILLIAM MARKHAM.

|                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| “Arthur Cook,     | John Bristow,     |
| “Jno. Cann,       | Albertus Jacobus, |
| “Jos. Growdon,    | Hugh Roberts,     |
| “John Delavall,   | Sa. Gray,         |
| “Rich. Halliwell, | Samuel Lewis,     |
| “Griffith Owen,   | Richard Wilks,    |
| “George Martin,   | William Biles,    |
| “Wm. Jenkins.”    |                   |

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XI.

*Schism and separation between George Keith and the Quakers.—Their testimony of denial against him.—His conduct afterwards.—Some judicial proceedings against him, &c.—The Magistrates' declaration of the reasons for these proceedings.—This affair, and the difference between the Province and Territories, give William Penn great concern and trouble. He is deprived of the government by King William and Queen Mary.—Their commission to Fletcher, Governor of New York.—Fletcher's letter to Deputy Lloyd.*

IN the year 1691, an affair happened among the Quakers, in this part of the world, which gave them much uneasiness and trouble, in their religious capacity, more especially in this Province, and the neighbouring places. This was the difference and separation between them and *George Keith*, before mentioned. He had been an eminent preacher and writer among them, for many years; and had published several well-written treatises, in defence of their religious principles, yet extant. He was a man of quick natural parts, and considerable literary abilities; acute in argument, and very ready and able in logical disputations, and nice distinctions, on theological subjects; but, said to be, of a brittle temper, and over-bearing disposition of mind; not sufficiently tempered and qualified with that Christian moderation and charity, which give command over the human passions; the distinguishing characteristic of true Christianity: of which he himself had not only made high profession, but also, in his younger years, as appears by

1691.

The schism of George Keith, &c.



1691. by his writings, had a good understanding. His great confidence in his own superior abilities seems to have been one, if not the chief, introductory cause of this unhappy dispute;—When men set too high a value on themselves, and others will not come up to their price, then they are discontented. He is said to have had too much life in argument and disputation, on religious points of controversy, and sometimes to have exhibited an unbecoming vanity on victory thereby obtained over his opponents, even, prior to the schism between him and his friends: for having, some time before, been on a visit to *New England*, he is represented as having indulged his natural propensity this way, among the preachers and inhabitants there, in a very extravagant manner: Which disposition of mind, from that time forward, appeared to have so far got the ascendancy over him, that, on his return, he began to exhibit the same, even, among his friends, beginning with finding fault, proposing and urging new regulations, in the society, in respect to the discipline of it, and complaining, “*There was too great a slackness therein.*”—Upon his friends not readily joining with him and his proposals, in the manner he expected, he became still more captious, and more disposed to seek matters of reproach and offence against divers in the society, and to make the worst of them; charging some of his friends, who were generally well esteemed and approved ministers, with preaching false doctrine; and, it is said, even, in points contrary to what himself had formerly held and declared, in his writings, in defence of the *Quakers*, and their principles. He found fault with his friends being in the magistracy, and their executing the penal laws against malefactors, as being inconsistent with their religious profession; and, in short, contended that he and such as joined with him, were the true *Quakers*, and all the rest, who opposed him, were apostates.

G. Keith's  
schism, &c.

His allegation  
against  
the Quakers

These

These were the principal allegations, which, in 1691. the beginning of the dispute, he appears to have made against the *Quakers*. The principal things, if not the whole, with which I find him charged by them, at that time, appear to be his over-bearing temper, and unchristian disposition of mind, in grossly vilifying and disparaging divers members of the society, who were universally and highly approved among them, and entirely rejecting their advice and judgment, in the affair; the consequence of an overheated and intemperate zeal: which, at last, proceeded so far as to occasion such a breach, that, on the 20th. day of the Fourth-month, 1692, a *declaration, or testimony of denial*, was drawn up against him, at a meeting of the ministers of the society at *Philadelphia*: wherein both he and his conduct were publicly disowned by them.

Their charges against him.

He is disowned, &c. in 1692.

This *declaration*, which was confirmed at the next following *General Yearly Meeting*, held at *Burlington*, the seventh of the Seventh-month, exhibits more fully the charges against him, and may further elucidate the case to the more inquisitive: Which *Testimony*, as it may, probably, be curious to some, if not instructive, is, therefore, placed in the notes.\*

He

\* The Declaration, or Testimony, of Denial against *George Keith*, was expressed as follows, viz.

" To the several Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in *Pennsylvania*, *East* and *West Jersey*, and elsewhere, as there may be occasion.

" *Beloved Friends,*

" IN tender love, and with spirits bowed down before the Lord, is this our salutation unto you; earnestly desiring your growth, and daily preservation, in the ancient truth, and in the simplicity of the gospel of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and our hope and breathings are, that no insinuations, or wiles, of the enemy shall prevail, to turn you aside from your steadfastness, or cause you to esteem lightly of the rock and way of God's salvation unto you, but that you may be kept in the light and life, which was, and is, the just man's path, to the end of our days, Amen!

" Now, dear Friends, it is with sorrow of spirits and grief of souls, that we signify unto you the tedious exercise, and vexatious perplexity, we have met with, in our late friend, *George Keith*, for several months past. With mourning and lamentation do we say, How is this mighty man

1692. He drew off a large number of people with him,  
 some of considerable account, in the society; and  
 set

man fallen! How is his shield cast away, as though he had not known the oil of the holy Ointment! How shall it be told in *Gath*, and published in the streets of *Askalon*! Will not the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph, when they hear that he is fallen upon the soaring mountains, and from the high places of *Israel*? While thou walkedst in the counsel of God, and wert little in thy own eyes, thy bow did abide in strength; thy sword returned not empty from the fat of the enemies of God—thy bow returned not back. His enemies were then vile unto thee, and his followers honourable in thy esteem. Oh, how lovely wert thou, in that day, when his beauty was upon thee; and when his comeliness covered thee! Why should his ornaments exalt thee, which were given to humble thee before him? And how art thou fallen from thy *first love*, and art become *treacherous to the spouse of thy youth*. Consider where thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy *first works*.

"But so it hath happened, Friends, lest any flesh should glory, but become silent before the Lord, that this *once eminent man*, and *instrument of renown*, in the hand of the Lord, while he kept his first habitation, and knew the government of Truth over his own spirit; and witnessed the same to be a bridle to his tongue, was then serviceable, both in pen and speech, to the churches of *Christ*. But now, and of late, it is too obvious and apparent, that, being degenerated from the lowly, meek and peaceable spirit of *Christ Jesus*, and grown cool in charity and love towards his brethren, he is gone into a spirit of enmity, wrath, and self-exaltation, contention and janglings; and, as a person without the fear of God before his eyes, and without regard to his Christian brethren, and letting loose to an extravagant tongue, he hath broken out into many ungodly speeches, railing accusations, and passionate threatenings towards many of his brethren and elders; and that upon slender occasions. And when some, in Christian duty, have laid before him his unsavoury words, and abusive language, as a person of common civility would loath, it hath been too frequent with him, and that, in a transport of heat and passion, to call some of his brethren, in the ministry, and other elders, and that upon small provocations, (if any) *Fools, ignorant Heathens, Infidels, silly Souls, Lyers, Heretics, rotten Ranters, Mugletonians*, and other names of that infamous strain; thereby to our grief, foaming out his own shame. And further, his anger and envy being cruel against us, and not contenting himself with his harshness against persons, he proceeded, in bitterness of spirit, to charge our meetings with being come together to cloak heresy and deceit; and publishing openly several times, that there were more doctrines of devils, and damnable heresies, among the *Quakers*, than in any profession among the Protestants. He hath long objected against our *Discipline*, even, soon after his coming among us, and having prepared a draught of his own, and the same not finding the expected reception, he seemed disgusted. Since he hath often quarrelled with us about *Confession*, declaring, "*That he knew none given forth by the body of Friends, to his satisfaction*;" and often charged most of us with being unsound in the faith. We have offered, in several meetings, for his satisfaction, and to prevent strife among us, and for preserving the peace of the church, to deliver a *Confession* of our Christian faith, in the words of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, the Author of our Christian faith, and in the words of the Apostles and Disciples, his faithful followers; or we would concur, and agree upon a *Confession*, and have it transmitted for approbation of the Yearly Meeting here, or the Yearly Meeting in  
*London*

set up separate meetings, in divers places: These 1692.  
 called themselves *Christian Quakers* and *Friends*,  
 boasted

*London*; yet, it was offered unto him, at the same time, that a *Confession*, concerning the main matters of controversy, should be given out of a book of his own; but all was slighted, as insufficient. The Lord knows the trouble, which we have had with this unruly member; and the openness of our hearts, and well-wishes towards him, notwithstanding his rage and violence against us; and of the endeavours of many in this place, to have gained upon him by a friendly converse, and by other means, not inconsiderable to a brotherly freedom; but our labour hitherto seems to be as water spilt upon a rock. And this meeting, having orderly and tenderly dealt with him, for his abusive language, and disorderly behaviour, he hath not only slighted all applications of gaining him to a sense of his ill-treatment and miscarriages, but, in an insulting manner, said to the friends appointed by the meeting, to admonish him, "*That he trampled the judgment of the Meeting under his feet, as dirt.*" And hath, of late, set up a separate meeting here; where he hath, like an open opposer, not only reviled several friends, by exposing their religious reputations, in mixt auditories of some hundreds, endeavouring to render them and friends here, by the press and otherwise, a scorn to the profane, and the song of the drunkard; but he hath traduced and vilified our worthy travelling friends, *James Dickinson* and *Thomas Wilson*, in their powerful and favory ministry, whose service is not only here, but, in most meetings in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, well known to have a seal in the hearts of many thousands of the *Israel of God*. He hath also within a few weeks, appeared in opposition, as it were, to the body of Friends, by putting on his hat, when our well-received and recommended friend, *James Dickinson*, was at prayer; and that, in a meeting of near a thousand Friends and others; and so going out of the meeting, to the great disquiet thereof, and to the drawing some scores into the same opposition with him, by his ill example. And he thus persisting in his repeated opposition, hard speeches, and continued separation, and labouring like an unwearyed adversary, to widen the breach, made by him, and so, abusing some of the neighbouring meetings, by being, as yet, under that covering of being owned by us; we are hereby brought under a religious constraint, and to prevent other meetings from being further injured by him, to give forth this *Testimony*, strained, as it were, from us, by his many and violent provocations, *viz.* That we cannot own him, in such ungodly speeches, and disorderly behaviour, or, in his separate meetings; and that we disown the same, as proceeding from a wrong spirit, which brings into disorder inwardly, and leads into distraction and confusion outwardly. And, until he condemn and decline the same, we cannot receive him, in his public ministry, and would have him cease to offer his gift, as such, among us, or elsewhere among Friends, till he be reconciled to his offended brethren. And as those few of our brethren, in the gift of the ministry, who are gone out with *George Keith*, into his uncharitable and dividing spirit, (the miserable effects whereof many of us have sufficiently known, in *Old England*, and other parts) our judgment is, that, while they continue such, they become unqualified to the work of the Gospel, as degenerating from the guidance of God's blessed and peaceable spirit; in their hearts, (from whence proceeds the effectual New Testament ministry) and being turned from the peaceable fruits thereof, are gone to un-charity and contention.

" And

1692. boasted of their large numbers, and looked upon the rest as Apostates; many books were written, and

" And now, all you, who have walked in fellowship and communion with us, and are drawn aside, through inconsideration, or otherwise, into the spirit of separation and prejudice against our meetings, orderly established; and wherein we have often been mutually refreshed together; we cannot but, in the fear of God, and in love to your souls, admonish you also of the insecurity of your present state, and that, therein we cannot have unity with you; and unless you return from under that spirit, dryness and barrenness, from the Lord, will be your reward.

" And so, dear Friends, we exhort you all to behave your selves, in the spirit of meekness, and peaceable truth, upon all occasions, but more especially upon any discourse, or conference, with any of them, who are discontented among you, or started aside from you; and avoid all heats and contentions in matters of faith and worship; and let not the salt of the covenant be wanting in your words and actions; for, thereby the favour of your conversation will reach the witness of God in them. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen.

" Given forth by the Meeting of *Public Friends*, in *Philadelphia*, the twentieth of the Fourth-month, 1692.

|                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| " Thomas Lloyd,   | John Blunston,    |
| " John Willsford, | William Cooper,   |
| " Nicholas Waln,  | Thomas Thackary,  |
| " William Watfon, | William Biles,    |
| " George Marie,   | Samuel Jennings,  |
| " Thomas Duckett, | John Delavall,    |
| " Joshua Fearn,   | William Yardly,   |
| " Evan Morris,    | Joseph Kirkbride, |
| " Richard Walter, | Walter Fawcitt,   |
| " John Simcock,   | Hugh Roberts,     |
| " Griffith Owen,  | Robert Owen,      |
| " John Brown,     | William Walker,   |
| " Henry Willis,   | John Lynam,       |
| " Paul Saunders,  | George Gray."     |

In confirmation of this Testimony and Declaration against *George Keith*, the Yearly Meeting at *Burlington*, on the seventh of the Seventh-month, 1692, say thus,—

" WE find it our duty to join with our brethren, in their Testimony against that spirit of railing, lying, slander, and falsely accusing, which hath risen, and acted, notoriously in *George Keith*, and his adherents; which hath led them into a mischievous and hurtful separation. And we do hereby declare, that we have not, nor can have, unity, in spirit, with any of them, until they return and repent of their evils aforesaid," &c.

*Extracted from their Testimony on the occasion, signed by 214 Names.*

The Yearly Meeting in *London*, in the Third-month, 1694, unanimously declared it to be their sense and judgment,— " That the said *George Keith* was gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the church of Christ; and that, while he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to preach, or pray, in any of *Friends'* meetings, nor be owned, or received as one of us, until by a public and hearty.

and much altercation and dispute ensued, on both sides. 1692.

He appealed, or complained, to the Yearly Meeting of the society, in *London*, against the *Quakers of Pennsylvania*, who had disowned him, and appeared there in person; where he was confronted by divers from the province. But, in this place, it is said, his passion and wrath so far prevailed over him, and his demeanour was so unreasonable and outrageous, and so much disposed for contention and dispute, that notwithstanding all possible endeavours for a reconciliation, and healing measures taking place between them, his denial was there finally confirmed.

He appeals to the Quakers in England.

He thenceforward became a public and bitter enemy, as far as in him lay, against the *Quakers*, in general; preaching and writing against them with all imaginable virulency: In which he appeared afterwards to be employed by their adversaries, for that purpose; for having joined with the Episcop

He becomes a public enemy to the Quakers.

[47]

copal

heartly acknowledgement of the great offence, he has given, and hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himself therefor, he gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and doth his endeavours to remove and take off the reproach he hath brought upon Truth and Friends; which, in the love of God, we heartily desire, for his soul's sake."

Respecting divers of the persons, who signed the preceding paper of Denial against George Keith, see in other places of this history, viz. of Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, Griffith Owen, William Biles, Samuel Jennings, John Delavall, Joseph Kirkbride, Hugh Roberts, Robert Owen, &c.

*John Lynam* came from Derbyshire; was a preacher and writer among the Quakers; died in Pennsylvania and was buried in Philadelphia, in the Second-month, 1698.

*William Stockdale* came from Ireland; was a writer and preacher among the Quakers; died in Pennsylvania, and was buried at Philadelphia, in the Seventh-month, 1693.

*Daniel Wills*, from Northampton, in England, removed to New Jersey in 1677, and died in Barbadoes;—a preacher among the Quakers.

*John Williford*, from Leicestershire; a preacher and writer among the Quakers; removed to New Jersey, and died at Burlington in that province.

*Note*, Some of the principal persons who adhered to *Keith*, and were men of rank, character and reputation, in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed, were, Thomas Budd, George Hutchinson, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, Charles Roade, &c.

1692. copal Clergy, in *England*, and served there for some time, as a Vicar, ordained by the Bishop of *London*, he afterwards returned to *America*; where, as a *Clergyman*, in orders, he officiated in his new function for about twelve months; and, having there given the *Quakers* all the trouble in his power, he returned again to *England* by way of *Virginia*. In this visit, it is said, he was generally slighted, both by those, who before had been his adherents, and others: And that his conduct was so glaringly inconsistent with his former pretensions; and his behaviour towards the *Quakers* so manifestly arising from a malignant disposition of mind, and disappointed malice, notwithstanding all the superior abilities, which he possessed, and made use of, he was universally despised by sober and thinking people of all societies.

He becomes a clergyman and gives the Quakers more trouble in America, &c.

Is generally despised.

Account of his Death-bed expressions, &c.

After his return to *England*, he was fixed in a benefice, in *Suffex*; and continued to write against his former Friends, as a bitter enemy; but, as far as appears, with a sinking reputation. At last, on his death-bed, from a well authenticated account, it is asserted, he thus expressed himself; "*I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then I am sure it would have been well with my soul.*"—This is an instance of the weakness of the human mind, even, when aided with the acquirements of science and superior knowledge; it shews how far from their real interest and true happiness, strong passions and unruly tempers may sometimes hurry, even, men of understanding; and how widely different things appear, in times of ambition, rage and revenge, from what they really are, in our cool and reflecting moments.

This

*Note.*—"In the year, 1692, the *Quakers*, in *Pennsylvania* made a collection of a sum of money, in conjunction with their friends, in *England*, for the relief of some of their society, who were taken prisoners by the *Sallar-men*, to *Marqueness*, in *Turkey*; and in suffering there: which was sent to the society in *London*, for them to dispose of for that purpose." M. S.

This schism made a great disturbance, in the province, for a time, and in some other places, among the *Quakers*; yet many, or the major part, of those persons, who had thus separated themselves, through the conduct of this person, are said, to have returned soon after to the society. 1692.

But because *Keith* had, (as accounts say) by abusive language and printed publications, vilified divers persons in the Magistracy, tending to subvert that absolutely necessary institution and order in civil society, and thereby had drawn upon himself some judicial proceedings, on that account, some persons have been disposed to charge the *Quakers*, if possible, *with persecution for religion*; and as this appears to be the only case, in which their enemies pretend to have just ground to accuse them of this evil, I shall, therefore, endeavour here to lay before the reader, that part of this transaction as circumstantially as the accounts remaining of it will permit.

In the beginning of the year 1691, a person, named *Babit*, with some others, stole a small sloop, from a wharf, in *Philadelphia*; and in going down the river with it, committed divers robberies; of which intelligence being early given to the Magistrates, three of them gave out a warrant, in the nature of a *Hue and Cry*, to take them, in order to a legal tryal and punishment; by virtue of which they were taken, and brought to justice. The Magistrates, who granted this warrant, being *Quakers*, *George Keith*, and his party, soon after took occasion from thence to represent it as inconsistent with their principles against fighting.—He called *Thomas Lloyd*, the Deputy Governor, who was accounted a person of a mild temper and deportment, good sense, and unblemished character, and whose unwearied endeavours, to serve him, are said to have merited a different treatment, “*An impudent man, and a pitiful Governor* ;” asking him, “*Why he* And vilifies them, &c.

Many return again to the Quakers.

Judicial proceedings against him.

G. Keith censures the magistrates.

did



1692. *did not send him to jail?"* and telling him, "*His back had long itched for a whipping; and that he would print and expose them all over America, if not over Europe;*" and one of the Magistrates, who was well known to be a modest and peaceable man, he opprobriously called, "*An impudent rascal:*" Such his conduct is represented to have been.

He reflects  
on the Ma-  
gistrates in  
print, &c.

Besides, being much enraged, he had published several virulent pieces; one of which indecently reflecting on the above mentioned transaction, and on several of the principal Magistrates in their judicial capacity, and thereby lessening the lawful authority of the magistracy, in the view of the baser sort of the people, who began thereupon to take greater liberties; wherefore the printers, *William Bradford* and *John M'Comb*, who had published it, were, by a warrant, from five Magistrates, viz. *Arthur Cook*, *Samuel Jennings*, *Samuel Richardson*, *Humphrey Murray* and *Robert Ewer*, taken up, examined, and upon their contemptuous behaviour to the court and justices, in their examination, and upon their refusal to give security, to answer at court, the usual practice in all similar occasions, they were committed; and though they were under no confinement, being entirely at large, on their bare word only, yet, (which seems to have been done by them, to answer some particular design) at a certain time, having occasion to sign a paper, when they could not be admitted into the prison itself, it is said, they got into the entry of it, and there dated, and signed the said paper, as from the prison:—But they were soon discharged, without being brought to a trial.

The Print-  
ers com-  
mitted, &c.

They sign a  
paper from  
the prison.

G. Keith &  
Tho. Budd  
presented by  
the Grand  
Jury, &c.

*George Keith* and *Thomas Budd* were also presented by the *Grand Jury* of *Philadelphia*, as authors of another book, of the like tendency, in the following words, viz. "We, of the *Grand Jury*, do present *George Keith* and *Thomas Budd*, as authors of a book, entitled, *The plea of the in-  
nocent*."

*nocent*, where, in page third, about the latter end of the same, they, the said *George Keith* and *Thomas Budd*, defamingly accuse *Samuel Jennings*, he being a Judge and a Magistrate, of this province, of being *too high and imperious in worldly courts*, calling him, *impudent, presumptuous and insolent man*, greatly exposing his reputation, and of an ill precedent, and *contrary to the law, in that case made and provided.*" 1692.

The lenity of the magistracy is said to have been very remarkable towards the actions and behaviour of divers of these people, when compared with the provocations given; which, by apparent design, had not only been, but also still continued to be, so extremely notorious and abusive, as well as derogatory to the principal persons in authority, in their judicial capacity, that, it is said, the rabble became greatly encouraged thereby, to despise and inveigh against the acts of government, and to render it more and more difficult to bring offenders to justice; it was, therefore, thought proper that this presentment should be prosecuted; so the matter was brought to a tryal, and the parties fined five pounds each; but the fines were never exacted. They are tried and fined.

All possible art and means were said to be used, which the enemies to the *Quakers*, the disaffected to the administration, and the more libertine part of the people, in the province were capable of, to magnify these judicial proceedings, and to represent them, as being on a religious account; and with great assiduity, artifice and noise, they were by these propagated as such, both at home and abroad; upon which the Magistrates published the reasons of their conduct, in the following paper, *viz.* These proceedings represented as being on a religious account by some.

" At a private sessions held for the county of *Philadelphia*, the 25th. of the Sixth-month, 1692, before

" Arthur

1692.



|                                                                                                                          |   |                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| " Arthur Cook,<br>" Samuel Jenings,<br>" Samuel Richardson,<br>" Humphrey Murray,<br>" Anthony Morris,<br>" Robert Ewer, | } | Justices<br>of the<br>county." |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|

A declara-  
tion of the  
Magistrates

" WHEREAS, the government of this province being, by the late King of *England's* peculiar favour, vested, and since continued, in Governor *Penn*, who thought fit to make his, and our worthy friend, *Thomas Lloyd*, his Deputy Governor, by, and under whom the Magistrates do act, in the government; and, whereas, it hath been proved before us, that *George Keith*, being a resident here, did, contrary to his duty, publicly revile the said Deputy Governor, by calling him an *impudent man*, telling him, "*He was not fit to be a Governor, and that his name would stink;*" with many other slighting and abusive expressions, both to him and the Magistrates; (and he, that useth such exorbitancy of speech towards our said Governor, may be supposed, will easily dare to call the members of Council and Magistrates *impudent rascals*, as he hath lately called one, in an open assembly, that was constituted, by the Proprietary, to be a Magistrate) and he also charges the Magistrates, who are ministers here, with engrossing the magisterial power into their hands, that they might usurp authority over him; saying also, "*He hoped in God he should shortly see their power taken from them;*" all which he acted in an indecent manner.

" And further, the said *George Keith*, with several of his adherents, having, some few days since, with unusual insolence, by a printed sheet, called "*An appeal,*" &c. traduced and vilely misrepresented the industry, care, readiness and vigilance of some magistrates and others here, in their late proceedings against the *privateers, Babit, and his crew,*

*crew*, in order to bring them to condign punishment; whereby to discourage such attempts, for the future; and have thereby also defamed and arraigned the determinations of the principal judicature, against murderers; and not only so, but also, by wrong insinuations, have laboured to possess the readers of their pamphlet, that it is inconsistent for those who are ministers of the gospel, to act as Magistrates; which, if granted, will render our said Proprietary incapable of the powers, given him by the said King's letters patent; and so prostitute the validity of every act of government, more especially in the executive part thereof, to the courtesy and censure of all factious spirits, and *male-contents*, under the same.

1692.

A declaration  
 of the  
 Magistrates

"Now, forasmuch as we, as well as others, have born, and still do patiently endure, the said *George Keith*, and his adherents, in their many personal reflections against us, and their gross revilings of our religious society, yet, we cannot, without the violation of our trust to the King and government, as also to the inhabitants of this government, pass by, or connive at, such part of the said pamphlet and speeches, that have a tendency to sedition and disturbance of the peace, as also to the subversion of the present government, or, to the aspersion of the Magistrates thereof.

"Therefore, for the undeceiving of all people, we have thought fit, by this public writing, not only to signify, that our procedure against the persons now in the *Sheriff's custody*, as well as what we intend against others concerned, (in its proper place) respects only that part of the said printed sheet, which appears to have the tendency aforesaid, and not any part relating to differences in religion; but also these are to caution such, who are well affected to the security, peace, and legal administration of justice, in this place, that they give no countenance to any revilers, or contemners of authority,

1692. authority, Magistrates or magistracy; as also, to warn all other persons, that they forbear the further publishing and spreading of the said pamphlets, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

“ Given under our hands, and seal of the county, the day, year and place, afore said.”

W. Penn  
at first dis-  
pleas'd with  
part of these  
proceedings

This affair of *George Keith* gave much concern to *William Penn*, who appeared, at first, rather to have censured part of these proceedings against him; whom he regarded as his old friend, more especially his trial; at which by some of his letters, he appeared to be much displeased:\* but after he was made fully acquainted with the nature and circumstances of the whole transaction, and was convinced of *George Keith's* great change, he appears to have been as ready and active as any others, in endeavouring to clear the society from the imputation of being the cause of the *unhappy schism*. But the difference between the province and territories continued still much to affect him, and to increase his apprehensions of very disagreeable consequences; as appears by his manner of writing to some of the principal persons, in the administration, about this time.†

It

\* In a letter, dated, Tenth-month, 1693, (see hereafter) *W. Penn* mentions this trial of *George Keith*, in these words, *viz.*

“ The trial of *Geo. Keith* has been indutiously spread all about the nation, especially at *London*, at the *Court. Westminster Hall*, and the *Parliament House*; the odium it has contracted in some, stirred up in others the advantage the disaffected among us make by it, against unity, against Friends having power, against me and you in particular, are great and lamentable; the Lord put a holy stop, by his wise power, to this evil work, and bring that which is wrong under his righteous judgment.”

† In a letter to a friend, dated, Fourth-month, 1692, (see page 357) speaking on this division, he says,—“ I desire thee to write to them; when they will mind now more than upon the spot; and lay their union upon them; for else the Governor of *New York* is like to have all; if he has not already. The Lord forgive them their unspeakable injury to me and mine,” &c.

In another letter to the principal persons in the administration, in the Seventh-month, 1693, he says,—“ I writ you per *Samuel Jennings* of was like to ensue upon the differences there, and the conduct I thought fit to be taken,” &c.

It cannot reasonably be imagined that the court of King *William* could be very favourably disposed to a person, who had been so much in friendship with the late King *James*, as *William Penn* had been; though King *William* himself seems to have had a great regard for him, and his known general great humanity and catholic spirit towards all, without distinction of party, rendered him respected among men of opposite principles both in religion and politics; yet his enemies, more especially in the latter of these characters, never had a fairer opportunity against him, than at this time; hence, when his young colony most needed his presence and assistance, they not only effectually prevented his giving it that aid, as before mentioned, but also now so far misrepresented, or magnified, these disorders in it,\* which, in great measure, arose from his too long absence from it, thus occasioned by themselves, or, that, in consequence thereof, he was, in the year, 1692, deprived of the government of *Pennsylvania* and the *territories*, by King *William* and Queen *Mary*; who granted a commission to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Governor of *New York*, dated October the 21st. in the fourth year of *William* and *Mary*, anno 1692, to take them under his government; which commission arrived, in the beginning of the year 1693, and is as follows, viz.

1693.

W. Penn's difficulty after the revolution.

W. Penn deprived of the government of *Pennsylvania*, &c. Which is conferred on *Benjamin Fletcher*, Governor of *N. York*.

“ *William*

[48]

\* The patent of King *William*, dated, August, 1694, by which *William Penn* was restored to his government, mentioning the causes of the resumption of it, at this time, by the crown, begins in this manner, viz.

“ WHEREAS, upon information, that by reason of great miscarriages in the government of our province of *Pennsylvania*, in *America*, and the absence of the Proprietor, the same was fallen into disorder and confusion,” &c.

1693. "William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, our Captain General and Commander in Chief of our province of New-York, and the territories depending thereon, in America, Greeting:

His com-  
mission.

"WHEREAS, by our commission, under our great seal of England, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, we have constituted and appointed you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, to be our Captain General, and Governor in chief, in and over our province of New-York, and the dependences thereon in America; and have thereby granted unto you full power and authority, with the advice and consent of our Council, as need shall require, to summon and call General Assemblies of the inhabitants, being freeholders, within the said province, according to the usage of the province of New-York; and that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective counties and places, and so returned, and having before their sitting, taken the oaths appointed by act of Parliament, to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the test, and without taking and subscribing whereof none shall be capable of sitting, though elected, shall be called the General Assembly of that our said province, and have thereby granted unto you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, by and with the consent of our said Council and Assembly, or the major part of them, full power and authority, to make, constitute and ordain, laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said province, and of the people and inhabitants thereof; which said laws, statutes and ordinances are to be, as near as may be, agreeable

to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of *England*; provided that all such laws, statutes and ordinances be, within three months, or sooner, after the making thereof, transmitted unto us, under our seal of *New-York*, for our approbation, or disallowance of the same; and in case any, or all of them, not before confirmed by us, shall, at any time, be disallowed, and not approved, and so signified by us, our heirs and successors, under our, or their sign manual, or signet, or by order of our or their, Privy Council, unto you, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, or to the Commander in Chief of the province of *New-York*, for the time being, then such, and so many of them, as shall be so disallowed and not approved, shall from thence forth cease, determine and become utterly void, and of none effect: And to the end that nothing may be passed, or done, by our said Council and Assembly to the prejudice of us, our heirs and successors, we have hereby willed and ordained, that you, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, shall have and enjoy one negative voice, in the making and passing of all laws, statutes and ordinances, as aforesaid; and that you shall and may, from time to time, as you shall judge it necessary, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve all General Assemblies aforesaid.

“ We, therefore, reposing special trust and confidence in the prudence, courage and loyalty of you, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over our province of *Pennsylvania*, and in the country of *New-Castle*, and all the tracts of land depending thereon, in *America*, and we do accordingly, by these presents, command and require you to take the said province and country under your government, and for the better ordering, governing and ruling over said province and country, and the tracts and territories depending thereon, we do hereby give and grant unto you, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*,



1693. *Fletcher*, all and every the like powers and authorities, as in our said commission, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, are given, granted and appointed you, for the ruling and governing our province of *New-York*, to be exercised, in like manner, by you, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, in and over our said province of *Pennsylvania*, and the country of *New-Castle*, and the territories and tracts of land, depending thereon in *America*.”

*Fletcher's  
commission.*

Governor *Fletcher*, upon receiving this commission, repaired to his new government, after having first notified his intention by the following letter, directed,

“ To the honourable *Thomas Lloyd*, Esquire, Deputy Governor of *Pennsylvania*.

“ S I R,

Governor  
*Fletcher's*  
letter to Go.  
*Lloyd*.

“ HAVING received their Majesties' commission, under the great seal, for the government of *Pennsylvania*, and being required to make a speedy repair to that province, I think fit to acquaint you, that I propose to begin my journey from home, on Monday, the twenty-fourth instant, and desire the Council, and principal freeholders may have notice; that their Majesties' commands may be communicated to them, so soon as I arrive, which, I hope, may be the twenty-ninth.

“ I am, Sir, your very loving friend,

“ BENJAMIN FLETCHER.

“ *New-York, April the 19th. 1693.*”

## CHAPTER XII.

*Governor Fletcher arrives at Philadelphia.—Names of the members of Assembly convened by him, in 1693.—Council's address to the Governor.—Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly, &c.—The Queen's letter to Governor Fletcher, respecting the defence of Albany.—Assembly's address to the Governor, with his answer.—The Assembly's remonstrance, with other proceedings.—A law for the support of government, &c.—Assembly's petition to the Governor.—Resolve of the Assembly, and protest of some of its members.—John Delavall.—Governor Fletcher dissolves the Assembly, appoints William Markham his Deputy, and departs for New-York.—His message to the Assembly in 1694.—Conclusion of Fletcher's administration, &c.—Death and memorial of the former Deputy Governor, Thomas Lloyd.*

COLONEL Fletcher arrived at Philadelphia with more pomp, and splendid attendance, than had been usually seen before in *Pennsylvania*; and the persons in the present administration appear to have given up the government to him, without any notification, or order, to them, either from the crown, or the Proprietary; for which, afterwards, in a letter to certain of them, *William Penn* seems to have blamed their conduct, especially that of his Deputy *Lloyd*; but yet apprehending their view, in so doing, to have been intended for the best, he excused them. He likewise writ to *Fletcher* himself, cautioning him to beware of meddling with it,

1693.

Gov. Fletcher arrives at Philadelphia.

The Proprietor disapproves of the too hasty surrender of the government.

1693. it, in the present circumstances, and reminding him of his particular obligation to him. This the Proprietary having mentioned in the abovesaid letter, to his friends in the province, the following answer, respecting the Governor of *New-York*, was returned by six of them, viz. *Arthur Cook, John Simcock, James Fox, Samuel Richardson, George Murrie* and *Samuel Carpenter*, in a letter to the Proprietary, dated, *Philadelphia*, the 18th. Eleventh-month, 1693-4, viz. "That if the said letter (to *Fletcher*) had come in time (as we are informed) he would hardly have proceeded so far, in taking this government; and, therefore, we could have wished it had come sooner, if haply it had been a means to prevent so great trouble and loss to thee and us; who are (as we stand related) great sharers with thee, in all things tending to the hurt of the province."—

Governor *Fletcher*, soon after his arrival, called an Assembly: prior to which, a dispute, arising between him and the Council, respecting the mode of electing and convening them, occasioned the following address to him, from the members of the Council, delivered on the 29th. of April, viz.

" 9,

*Note.*—In the Third-month, 1693, the Names of the Members of Assembly, convened by Governor *Fletcher*, on the sixteenth, were—

| <i>For Bucks.</i>               | <i>For Chester.</i>      | <i>For Kent.</i>         |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Joseph Growdon, Speaker,</i> | <i>John Simcock,</i>     | <i>John Brinkloe,</i>    |
| <i>John Swift,</i>              | <i>George Maris,</i>     | <i>John Walket,</i>      |
| <i>Henry Paynter.</i>           | <i>David Lloyd.</i>      | <i>William Menden.</i>   |
| <i>For Philadelphia.</i>        | <i>For Newcastle.</i>    | <i>For Suffex.</i>       |
| <i>Samuel Carpenter,</i>        | <i>Edward Blake,</i>     | <i>Albertus Jacobs,</i>  |
| <i>Samuel Richardson,</i>       | <i>Cornelius Empson,</i> | <i>Thomas Pemberton,</i> |
| <i>John White,</i>              | <i>Henry Williams,</i>   | <i>Samuel Pesson.</i>    |
| <i>James Fox.</i>               | <i>Richard Hatwell.</i>  |                          |

"To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General, and Governor in chief," &c. 1693.

"The humble address of the freemen of the province of *Pennsylvania*, presented by their delegates, Members of the Provincial Council, sheweth,

"THAT, whereas, the late King *Charles* the second, in the thirty-third year of his reign, by letters patent, under the great seal of *England*, did, for the consideration therein mentioned, grant unto *William Penn* and his assigns, this colony, or tract of land, erecting the same into a Province, calling it *Pennsylvania*, and constituting the said *William Penn*, absolute Proprietary of the said Province, saving (among other things) the sovereignty thereof, with power also, by virtue of the said royal charter, to the said *William Penn*, his deputies and lieutenants, to make laws, with the advice and assent of the freemen of the said province, or the greatest part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the said laws, when, as often as need required, he, the said *William Penn*, should assemble, in such sort, as to him should seem best, with divers other great powers, immunities and privileges, in the same charter contained, which, relation being thereunto had, may more at large appear.

The Council's address to governor Fletcher.

"By virtue, and in pursuance whereof the said Proprietary, *William Penn*, with the advice and consent of the freemen of this Province, in General Assembly met, at *Philadelphia*, (in 1683) did enact, that the time for the meeting of the freemen, to chuse their Deputies, to represent them in Provincial Council, and General Assembly, should be on the 10th. day of the First-month, yearly; and the members chosen, for the Provincial Council (consisting of three persons out of each county) should give their attendance, within  
twenty

1693. twenty days after election, in order to propose bills; and the members of Assembly, being fix out of each county, should meet on the tenth of the Third-month, called May, yearly, in order to pass those proposed bills into laws; but, in case any of the said members should either be of ill fame, or wilfully absent from their service, or happen to die, it is provided by another law, (made in 1684) that it shall be lawful for the Proprietary and Governor, within ten days after knowledge of the same, to issue out a writ to the Sheriff of the county, for which the party was chosen, immediately to summon the freemen to elect another member, &c.

The Council's address to governor Fletcher.

“ Now, forasmuch as the present emergency of affairs, in this province, may require a General Assembly to be speedily called, and since we conceive it hath pleased the King and Queen so far to countenance our laws and constitution as to direct the present governancy to rule thereby, until the laws be duly made, to alter, or amend the same;

“ We, therefore, earnestly desire, that no other measures may be taken, for electing, or convening, our legislative power, than our recited laws and constitutions of this government prescribe, the rather, for that the said King did, by his letters patent, enjoin, require and command, that the laws made, as aforesaid, should be most absolute and available in law, and that all the liege people and subjects of the said late King, his heirs and successors, should observe and keep the same inviolable, in these parts.

“ Joseph Growdon,  
 “ John Bristow,  
 “ John Delavall,  
 “ John Simcock,  
 “ Hugh Roberts,  
 “ Samuel Lewis,  
 “ Richard Hough.”

The

The Assembly, being met on the 16th. of the 1693.  
 Third-month, presented their Speaker, *Joseph*  
*Growdon*, to the Governor, for his approbation; who being accepted, the oaths and tests were presented to the whole house, in the manner of other governments, under the immediate administration of the crown; but some of the members, being scrupulous of taking oaths, and refusing to be sworn, were indulged with subscribing to the declarations and professions, mentioned in the act of Parliament, for *liberty of conscience*, made in the first year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. This the Governor told them was an *act of grace*, and *not of right*, so as to be drawn into precedent in future.

Proceed-  
 ings of the  
 Governor  
 & Assembly

It doth not appear that either the Proprietary, or the people of *Pennsylvania*, had forfeited those rights and privileges, whose enjoyment had been the compact of their settlement of the province; of which privileges, those which respected their religious, or conscientious scruples were the chief; but the contrary rather is manifest: For notwithstanding what was alledged for depriving the Proprietary of the government, it was well known that the suspicion of his adhering too much to King *James* was the principal, if not the only, cause for rendering him incapable of attending so properly to it, as it seemed at that time to require: But nothing was ever proved, to confirm what was alledged against him, in that respect; though it injured him so far, as to oblige him, for a time, to be in secret, and to be absent too long from his province; whereby some disorders happened in it, that in all probability, would otherwise have been prevented; but none of such magnitude, as to violate, or prevent, the regular administration of justice, as seems to have been alledged by the enemies of the prosperity of the province; much less to give just occasion for depriving the colonists of their

The go-  
 vernment  
 & privileges  
 of Pennsylv-  
 ania not  
 forfeited.

1693. their dearly bought rights and privileges, granted by charter, confirmed by laws, and familiarized by custom; though it might be called a favour, to enjoy them, where power alone has the rule, without having any regard to justice: For notwithstanding the Governor was changed, yet it was presumed the government, or constitution, was not, in consequence thereof, to be violated, or altered, and that the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* had as just a right to be governed *according to the usage of Pennsylvania*, and their own laws, then in force, as those of *New-York* had to be governed *according to the usage of that province*, though their usages were different, so long as justice was equally well administered by the former, as by the latter, and in a manner more agreeable to them.

Vide Fletcher's commission, &c. page 378.

The Assembly, however, in consideration of the present circumstances of affairs, thought it most prudent to submit, though not consistent with a privilege, to which, in their apprehension, they had a right, and below the justice of their claim; and, for the present, acknowledged the same, as *an act of grace and favour*, proceeding from the *justice and kindness* of the Governor.

The Assembly being qualified, the Governor communicated to them a letter,\* which he had received,

\* The Queen's letter to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of *Pennsylvania*, &c.

“ *Mary R.*

“ *Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.*

“ WHEREAS, it has been represented unto us in council, in behalf of our province of *New York*, in *America*, that the same having been at great expence, for the preservation and defence of *Albany*, its *Frontiers* against the *French* (by the loss of which province the inhabitants of *Maryland* and *Virginia* would not be able to live, but in garriſon) and having hitherto preserved that post, the burden thereby is now intolerable to the inhabitants there. We think it reasonable and necessary that our several colonies and provinces of *New England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pennsylvania* should be aiding and assisting. from time to time, to the Governor, or Commander in Chief, of our said province of *New York*, in the maintenance and defence of it, during the present war; and according

received, in the last year, from the Queen, setting forth, that the expence, for the preservation and defence of *Albany*, against the *French*, which had been intolerable to the inhabitants there; and that, as it was a frontier, by which several of the other colonies were, in some measure, defended, it was thought reasonable that those colonies should be assisting, from time to time, to the government of *New-York*, in the maintenance and defence of it, during the war.

1693.  
Proceedings of the Assembly.

The first question put by the Assembly, after their meeting, was, How far the laws of the province, and constitution of the government, founded on the powers of the King's letters patent to the Proprietary, *William Penn*, were in force? upon which it was unanimously *Resolved*, "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this present Governor, are still in force; and that the Assembly have a right humbly to move the Governor for a continuation, or confirmation thereof."—Accordingly the following address was drawn up and presented to the Governor, *viz.*

Resolution of the Assembly.

"To

accordingly our will and pleasure is, That upon the application of the said Governor, or Commander in Chief, you do immediately send him such aid, or assistance, in men or otherwise, for the security of the said province, from the attempts of the *French* or *Indians*, as the condition of the said plantations, under your government, shall permit; and our further pleasure is, that as soon as conveniently may be, you agree with the Governors of *New England*, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, unto whom we have sent the like directions, upon a quota of men, or other assistance, to be given by each colony, or province, for the defence of *New York*, as occasion may require the same; and that you return a speedy account of your proceedings herein, to the end that further directions may be given, as shall be necessary for securing the fort of *Albany*, and the province of *New York*, from the attempts of our enemies, in those parts: and so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our court, at *Whitehall*, the 11th, day of October, 1692, in the fourth year of our reign.

"By her Majesty's command,

"NOTTINGHAM."



1693. "To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and country of *New-castle*,

"The humble address of the Freemen of said province and country, Sheweth,

The address of the Assembly.

"THAT since it hath pleased the King and Queen, that the absence of our Proprietary's personal attendance, in this government, should be superseded by thee, or thy Lieutenant, we, the Representatives of the Freemen of the said province and territories (with due respect to the powers of thy commission, and hearty acknowledgment of thy good-will, care and tenderness towards us) do readily acquiesce with the King's pleasure therein, earnestly beseeching that our procedure in legislation may be according to the usual method and laws of this government, founded upon the late King's letters patent; which we humbly conceive to be yet in force, and therefore, we desire the same may be confirmed unto us, as our rights and liberties.—And we, with all faithfulness and sincerity, do give what assurance we are capable of, in the present circumstances we are, to answer the Queen's letter, and thy request, according to our ability.

"*Third-month 17th. 1693.*"

To which the Governor returned this answer, viz.

"Gentlemen,

The Governor's answer to the Assembly.

"I, with the Council, have considered your address, and am sorry to find your desires grounded upon so great mistakes.—The absence of the Proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their Majesties' letters patent, for their Majesties' asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects, in this province: There are reasons of greater moment; as, the *neglects* and *miscarriages*, in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against

against the enemy, and the danger of being lost from the crown. 1693.

“ The constitution of their Majesties’ government, and that of *Mr. Penn*, are in a direct opposition, one to the other; if you will be tenacious in sticking for this, it is a plain demonstration, use what words you please, that, indeed, you decline the other.

“ I shall readily concur with you, in doing any thing, that may conduce to your safety, prosperity and satisfaction, provided your requests are consistent with the laws of *England*, their Majesties’ letters patent, and the trust and confidence their Majesties’ have reposed in me.

“ Time is very precious to me, I hope you will desist from all unnecessary debates, and fall, in earnest, upon those matters, I have already mentioned to you, and for which you are principally convened.”

The debates of the House, upon this answer to their address, produced the following remonstrance to the Governor, *viz.*

“ To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of *Pennsylvania*, Country of *New Castle*, and tracts of Land depending;—

“ The remonstrance of the Freemen of the said Province and Country, in Assembly met,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ THAT, having, with all dutiful respect, read and considered the Governor’s answer to our address, this morning, We, in answer thereunto, with submission say, we conceive that our desires were not grounded on mistakes, in relation to the Proprietary’s absence. The Assembly’s remonstrance.

“ But

1693. " But, as to the other clause, mentioned by the Governor, of their Majesties' asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects, in this Province, &c. we, with all readiness and chearfulness, own accordingly to the right of the King and Queen, whose prosperity and happy reign we heartily desire; and as to the other reasons rendered, for superseding our Proprietary's governancy, we apprehend they are founded on *misinformations*: for the courts of justice were open, in all counties, in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the determining the lowest differences about property, before the date, or arrival of the Governor's commission; neither do we apprehend that the province was in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some, whose principles were not for war; and we conceive that the present governancy hath no direct opposition (with respect to the King's government here in general) to our Proprietary, *William Penn's*, though the exercise of thy authority, at present, supercedes that of our said Proprietary; nevertheless we readily own thee for our lawful Governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges.

" JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker*.

" *The 17th. of the Third-month, 1693.*"

What reply the Governor made, or whether any, does not appear; but the Assembly, having thus modestly asserted their privileges, proceeded to enact sundry laws. One for the support of government, and such others as were thought necessary, either to be renewed, or repealed, for the public good, being sent up to the Governor and Council, the latter were detained by them for some time, to see what the Assembly would do in consequence of the Queen's letter. This deli-

with the Governor's asserting, "that the Assembly 1693. should have no account of the bill, (of supply, or for the support of government\*) till they came, in a full

\* The law, for the support of government, was as follows, viz.

" *Anno regni Gulielmi & Mariæ, regis & reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, quinto.*

" An act for granting to King *William* and Queen *Mary* the rate of one Penny per Pound upon the clear value of all real and personal estates, and six shillings per head, upon such as are not otherwise rated by this act, to be employed by the Governor of this province of *Pennsylvania*, and Territories thereof, for the time being, towards the support of this government.

" SINCE it hath pleased the King and Queen to take the government of this province and country into their own hands, and supply the absence of our Proprietor by so worthy a person, who gives us such great assurances of his good desires to preserve and confirm us in our rights and liberties, We, the Representatives, met in General Assembly, with humble submission to the King and Queen's pleasure therein, and with all dutiful acknowledgments of their love and tender regard to the reasonable laws and constitutions, as well as protection, of this government; do humbly present the said King and Queen with the free gift of the rates and assessments herein after mentioned; which we desire they will please to accept of, as a testimony of our dutiful affections towards them; and we do likewise desire, that the King and Queen would be pleased to give and allow one-half thereof to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over this province and country, &c. That it may be so enacted.

*Be it, therefore, enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, convened in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That all and every person and persons, within this government, having personal estates, either in their possession, or in the possession of others, in trust for them, over and besides the household goods and implements they use, and such sums of money as they really owe, or ought to pay, shall yield and pay to the use aforesaid, after the rate of one penny per pound; and to the end that this tax may be laid with such equality and indifference as may be, upon all lands within this government, and that a due regard may be had to the many tracts of uncultivated and unimproved lands, which produce rather a charge, than profit, to the owners thereof, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all lands, and other real, as also the personal estates, shall be, and are hereby charged, for one year only, and no longer, with one penny for one pound clear value.*

*And be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all freemen, within this province and territories, who have been out of their servitude, by the space of six months, and shall not be otherwise rated by this act, nor worth one hundred pounds, shall pay unto the use aforesaid, the sum of six shillings per head: Provided always, That our Chief Proprietary and his late Deputies in government, shall not be assessed, or otherwise chargeable, by virtue of this act: Provided also, That no person, or persons, shall be taxed by this act, who have a great charge of children, and become indigent in the world, and are so far in debt, that the clear value of their real and personal estate doth not amount to thirty pounds.*

*And*

1693. a full house, before him, to give the last sanction to the laws;"—"and, that he saw nothing would do,

*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, for the better assessing, ordering, levying and collecting the several sums of money, to be paid as aforesaid, and for the more effectual putting this act in execution, it shall and may be lawful for all, or any two, or more, of the Members of this Assembly, within the respective counties, for which they serve, to call to their assistance three of the Justices, or other substantial freeholders of the respective counties, and within two months after the publication hereof, to meet together at such place, or places, within each county, as they shall respectively agree upon, in order to assess the rates, mentioned in this act, and also to appoint Receivers, or Collectors, to receive, or gather, the same; and, after such meeting had, the said Assessors shall, by warrant from some Justice of the Peace of the proper county, cause the Constables, within the said county, to bring in certificates, in writing, of the names of every person, residing within the limits of those places, with which they shall be charged, and of the substances and values of every of them, who are to be rated by this act; which said Constables shall be paid, or allowed by the Collectors, three pence per pound, for their trouble therein. And the said Assessors are hereby enjoined to ascertain and inform themselves, by all lawful means they can, of the true valuation of the clear estates, both real and personal, within those counties and limits, with which they shall be charged respectively; and, being so bereof ascertained, they are to assess themselves and others for, and in respect of, the said estates, according to the rates aforementioned, having due regard to the ability of the people, and to the unprofitable land, they hold; and thereupon to appoint such, and so many collectors, or receivers, thereof, as they the said assessors, shall think fit, within their respective limits; for which service the said assessors shall receive, or be allowed, six pence per pound out of the said assessment.*

*"And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the rates, assessments and taxations, aforesaid, shall be made and ascertained with what expedition may be, so that the moiety, or half part, thereof, may be levied, collected and paid to the receivers respectively, on or before, the 10th. day of the Ninth-month next, and the other half thereof, on or before, the 10th. day of the Second-month, 1694, at such places, as the said assessors shall appoint, which said assessments, with the names and several values of their respective estates, together also with the real sums levied by this act, shall be returned, and fairly certified by the said collectors, to the next General Assembly, after the same is assessed, as aforesaid.*

*"And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if any of the said assessors shall neglect or refuse, to make such assessments, as by this act is required, or in case the collectors, so, as aforesaid, chosen, shall deny, neglect, or refuse, to collect any sum, or sums, of money in form above mentioned, assessed, and be convicted thereof, shall be fined at the discretion of the justices of the respective county courts.*

*"And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if any person, or persons, whatsoever, within this government, who shall be assessed, or rated any sum, or sums of money, by virtue of this act, shall deny, refuse, or delay, to pay the same, that then it shall be lawful for any such collector, by virtue of a warrant, under the hand and seal of any Justice of the Peace, for the county, where the offender shall reside, who, by virtue of this act, are required and authorized to grant such warrants, to levy the same by distress and sale of such person's, or persons' goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any be.*

do, but an annexion to *New-York*,"—induced the 1693.  
house to send the following petition to the Go-  
vernor.

"To

[50]

to the owner, after the sum assessed, or distrained for, with all charges, are deducted.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the monies, or effects, gathered, or received, by the said collectors, within their respective limits, by virtue of this act, shall, from time to time, be duly paid to such Treasurer as shall be appointed by the Governor, to receive the same; whose receipts shall be a sufficient discharge unto such collectors; which said collectors, for gathering the said particular sums, shall retain in their hands respectively, for every twenty shillings by them paid in, as aforesaid, the sum of one shilling, as a reward for their pains and service; *Provided always*, That if any person, or persons certified and assessed, or rated for, or in respect of any estate, for which, by this act, he, or they, is or may be rated, do find him, or themselves, aggrieved with such rating, and do, within ten days after, complain to any three of the assessors, that signed, or allowed, his, or their rate, who shall, within ten days after such complaint, particularly examine the person complaining, or any other person, touching the value of the complainant's real and personal estate; and thereupon the said assessors shall abate, default, or increase the said assessments, according as complaints shall appear, either by the party's own attest, or proof of others.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That, if any person be sued, for any thing done, in pursuance of this act, such person, so sued, may plead the general issue, and give this act in special matter, in evidence; and if the plaintiff, or prosecutor, shall be cast, the defendant shall recover treble damages; *Provided always*, That none shall be hereby punished, by virtue of this act, for any neglect, or miscarriage, in the execution thereof, but within one year after such offence; *Provided also*, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the several collectors shall gather and receive the respective sums assessed, as aforesaid, in current money of this Province, or for want thereof, in good merchantable country produce, at the current market price."

*Note*, From the sums raised by this tax of one penny in the pound, in each county; as exhibited below, from the votes of Assembly, may pretty nearly be estimated the value of all the private estates and property, at that time, in the province and territories, *viz.*

| Counties.             | Sums.            |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Philadelphia, - - - - | £314 11 11       |
| Newcastle, - - - -    | 143 15 0         |
| Sussex, - - - -       | 101 1 9          |
| Kent, - - - -         | 88 2 10          |
| Chester, - - - -      | 65 0 7           |
| Bucks, - - - -        | 48 4 1           |
| <i>Total.</i>         | <u>£760 16 2</u> |

1693. " To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the province of *Pennsylvania*, country of *New-Castle*, and tracts of land depending,

" The humble *petition* of the Freemen of the said province and country, in Assembly met,

" Sheweth,

Assembly's  
petition to  
the Govern-  
nor.

" THAT they, being deeply sensible of the many inconveniences that may attend a misunderstanding between the Governor and Freemen, do earnestly desire all occasions may be taken away, and with all humility, beg the Governor would be pleased, in tender regard to the trust, lodged in the said Representatives, to condescend so far, as to inform them, which of their bills the Governor will accept, amend, or reject; that, by knowing which of the said bills are disliked by the Governor, the Assembly may dispose themselves to acquiesce with the Governor's pleasure, or endeavour to satisfy the Governor and Council with the reasonableness of the said bills; which, being done, will remove all doubts and troubles from our minds, upon that occasion, and we shall proceed with chearfulness to finish this General Assembly, to the King's honour, and the general satisfaction of the Governor and government.

" *Third-month 31st. 1693.*"

Notwithstanding the soft and pliant terms of this petition, the Assembly unanimously resolved, " That all bills sent to the Governor and Council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to ~~this~~

In the latter end of the year 1693, died, in *Philadelphia*, *John Dewall*, a member of the Provincial Council. He had formerly been a Captain of the militia in *New York*; but, afterwards, joining in religious society with the Quakers, he became an eminent Preacher among them, and is said to have been one of the first, or early settlers in *New York*, from whence he removed to *Philadelphia*: where, having married *Mannah*, the eldest daughter of *Thomas Lloyd*, he continued a useful and worthy member of society till his death. M. S.

this house, to have their further approbation, upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent, to pass into laws;"—And there was a party in the house, who strenuously asserted their undoubted rights, as founded on their then present charter of privileges, but, being the smaller number, all they could do terminated in the following protest, viz.

1693.  
Resolution  
of the As-  
sembly.

" *Philadelphia, Fourth-month 1st. 1693.*

" WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, Representatives of the Freemen of his province, in Assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the Governor and Council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation, or amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills, and that the denial of that right is destructive to the Freemen of making laws; and we do also declare, it is the right of the Assembly, that before any bill, for supplies, be presented, for the last sanction, aggrievances ought to be redressed:—therefore, we, with protestation (saving our just rights in Assembly) do declare, that the assent of such of us as were for sending up the bill, for the supply, this morning, was merely in consideration of the Governor's speedy departure, but that it should not be drawn into example, or precedent, for the future.

Protest of  
some Mem-  
bers of As-  
sembly.

" David Lloyd, Samuel Richardson,  
" James Fox, John Simcock,  
" John Swift, Samuel Preston,  
" John White, Samuel Carpenter,  
" George Maris, Henry Paynter."

According to the Assembly's petition the Governor sent back several bills, with his objections, for amendments; which, being agreed to, were afterwards passed. And the rolls of such old laws, as the Assembly did not think fit to repeal, to prevent any doubt of their being in force, being sent

up



1693. up to him, were signed by him, for confirmation. After which he dissolved the Assembly, by their own advice, and departed for his government at *New-York*, having first appointed *William Markham*, Lieutenant Governor in his stead, in *Pennsylvania*.  
Governor Fletcher appoints W. Markham his Deputy, and goes to New York.

During Governor *Fletcher's* administration here, he appears to have been several times in the province, but never long at one time. He met the Assembly again in the Third-month, 1694; and, in a message to them, dated, *Philadelphia*, May 23d. 1694, he acquaints them,

Gov. Fletcher's message to the Assembly. "That he had been disappointed in meeting them sooner, according to his intention, and direction given for calling the Assembly, by reason of being under a necessity to repair to *Albany*, on intimation given, that the *five nation Indians*, which had been so long faithful to the *English*, were now debauched to the *French interest*, and entering into a league with the Governor of *Canada*; which was a matter of the highest importance to the neighbouring colonies, and required his utmost abilities and application to prevent.

"That he was come to lay the whole affair before them, assuring them, that their own *Indians* here would be compelled to join the fatal confederacy.

"That, in consequence hereof, he had seen fourscore fine farms all deserted about *Albany*.

"That the *Jerseys* had done more for the common defence than all the other adjacent provinces.

"That he considered their principles, that they could not carry arms, nor levy money, to make war, though for their own defence, yet he hoped they would not refuse to feed the hungry and cloath the naked; that was, to supply the *Indian nations* with such necessaries, as may influence their continued friendship to these provinces.

"Lastly,

“Lastly, that he was ready, as far as in him 1694. lay, consistent with the rules of loyalty, and a just regard to liberty and property, to redress their grievances, if they had any.”

During this, and the succeeding session, in September, this year, several laws were passed; which ends the administration of Governor Fletcher.—

End of Governor Fletcher's administration.

But what return was made by the house to his request, in the latter part of the above message, does not clearly appear; only I find, that, in a letter of the Proprietary, dated, *Bristol*, fifth of the Ninth-month, 1695, which seems to allude to part of the present proceedings, he observes and complains of there being *factious persons in the colony*, that disturbed, or threatened the tranquillity of the government;—and he blames the province *For refusing to send money to New-York*, for what he calls a *common defence*, urging their compliance, and expressing the danger of their *oversetting* the government again, *by such refusal*; which, before that time, was restored to him, *Markham* being his Deputy.\*

W. Penn complains of & blames the province in part.

On the 10th. of the Seventh-month this year (1694) died *Thomas Lloyd*, the Proprietary's late Deputy Governor, aged about fifty-four years. His father was a person of some fortune, rank and esteem; of an ancient family and estate, called *Dolobran*, in *Montgomeryshire*, in *North Wales*. This his son *Thomas Lloyd* was a younger brother, and was educated in the best schools; from which he was removed to the university of *Oxford*; where he is said to have made considerable proficiency; and,

Death and character of Tho Lloyd.

\* This letter was directed to Arthur Cook, John Simcock, Samuel Carpenter, John Goodson, Samuel Richardson, Robert Turner, Phineas Pemberton, and David Lloyd.

In a postscript to this letter, he further declares,—“I must say, that what I have spent upon the province, as Governor and Planter, is the foundation of my present incumbrance, as Ph. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and ascribed to the Lords of Plantations lately, to be £4000 more in the whole, than I ever received for lands, besides what it has cost me here.”

1694. and, being endowed with good natural parts, and an amiable disposition of mind, he attracted the regard and esteem of persons of rank and figure, and was afterwards in the way to considerable preferment, in the world; but, being of a sober and religious way of thinking, he joined with the *Quakers*, and renounced all worldly considerations, for that peace of mind, and real mental felicity, which he believed to be the effect of true religion; and became an highly esteemed preacher in that society.\* In consequence of which, having suffered much unmerited reproach, persecution and loss of property, in his native country, he afterwards removed to *Pennsylvania*, among the first, or early settlers, and was one of *William Penn's* most intimate friends. He was mostly one of the principal persons in the government, from his first arrival, and of very great service in the public affairs: Yet he appears to have so much disliked such a public kind of life, that, from the sole view of serving his country, when it so much needed it, he is said to have accepted of the eminent offices, which, at different times, he held in the administration, &c. for he was so far from making advantage, or profit, to himself, by thus devoting his superior abilities, that it is asserted, he worsted, or lessened, his private estate thereby.

In both his civil and religious capacity, in divers respects, the great utility of his conduct and management, during the infant and early state of the

Death and  
character of  
Th. Lloyd.

\* There is extant in manuscript, partly obliterated, minutes of a religious dispute or conference, held at *Lanfwyllin*, in September, 1681, between the bishop of *St. Asaph*, and *Charles* and *Thomas Lloyd*, brothers, with a number of others on both sides, as taken by the bishop, entitled,

"An account of a conference between the right reverend the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and Mr. *Charles Lloyd* and Mr. *Thomas Lloyd*," &c.

It is a learned and ingenious dispute, marked with moderation, on both sides, chiefly in the syllogistical method, on *baptism*, and what is called the *Lord's Supper*, &c. with divers Greek quotations and explanations, from the New Testament,—occasioned by the Bishop's requesting them to give their reasons for their separation from the church, &c.

The conference, &c. continued several days.

the province and colony, appear to have been very extensive and conspicuous, till his death; inso-  
 much that he was universally beloved by all degrees of the people, both for his good services, and the excellency of those amiable qualities, which, from the advantages of birth, education, religion, and good sense, are represented to have united in him, to distinguish his character, and render him a bright and shining example of piety, virtue and integrity, through every department, stage and vicissitude of both his private and public life.\*

1694.  
 Death and  
 character of  
 Th. Lloyd.

\* He died on the sixth day of his sickness; during which time, his expressions to his friends, about him, are mentioned, as expressive of the state of his mind, and the consequence of a life, well spent; some of which were,—“ I die in unity and in love with all faithful friends; I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith; which stands not in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God; I have sought not for strife and contention, but for the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the simplicity of the Gospel;—I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so.” —“ Friends farewell all.” —

*Note.*—The above account and character of him is the purport of a much larger written memorial, signed by thirty-two names, &c.



## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XIII.

*William Penn cleared of the accusations against him, and his government restored.—His letter on this subject and other things.—Death of his wife, Guilielma Maria.—He commissions William Markham his Lieutenant Governor.—Copy of the instrument, by which he was reinstated in his government in 1694.—His useful employment in England. His second marriage.—Death of his eldest son, Springett.—Ancient testimony of the Quakers renewed, &c.—William Penn visits his friends, the Quakers, in Ireland, &c.—Governor Markham's administration.—His writ for calling an Assembly, in 1695.—Proceedings of the Assembly in 1696. Their remonstrance, &c.—Further proceedings of the Legislature; wherein a bill of settlement is agreed to and passed, called the third frame of government, &c.—Names of the members of Assembly in 1698.—State of the province about this time.—A Proclamation.*

1693. **W**E now return to William Penn; who, in the latter part of the year 1693, through the mediation of his friends, the Lords, *Rocheſter, Ranelagh and Sidney*, in which the Lord Somers, the Duke of Buckingham and Sir John Trenchard were assisting, was admitted to make his innocence appear; which he did so effectually, that he was not only readily acquitted of the charge against him, but also had his government restored.

W. Penn's  
enlargement,  
&c.

The three first mentioned Lords went to the King, on the 25th. of November, and represented to him *William Penn's* case, "As not only hard, but oppressive; that there was nothing against him, but what impostors, or those, that were fled, or that had, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked *William Penn* pardon, for saying what they did) alledged against him; that they (the said Lords) had long known *William Penn*, some of them thirty years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and, that, if it was not for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the government, he would have done it two years ago; that he was, therefore, willing to wait to go about his business, as before, with leave, that he might be the better respected, in the liberty he took to follow it."\*

1693.  
Three  
Lords inter-  
sede with  
the King in  
favour of  
W. Penn.

King

[51]

\* *William Penn* mentions this, among other things, in the following manner, in a letter, directed to Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Carpenter, John Simcock. Samuel Richardson, Samuel Jennings, Henry Murray, Arthur Cook, John Jones, &c. viz.

"*Hodsdon, the 11th. of the Tenth-month, 1693.*

"*Friends,*

"THIS comes by the Pennsylvania Merchant, ——— *Harrison*, commander, and C. Saunders, merchant. By them and this know, that it hath pleased God to work my enlargement, by three Lords representing my case, as not only hard, but oppressive; that there was nothing against me, but what impostors, or those that are fled, or that have, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked me pardon, for saying what they did) alledged against me; that they had long known me, some of them thirty years, and had never known me to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and, that, for not being thought to go abroad in defiance to the government, I might and would have done it, two years ago; and, that I was, therefore, willing to wait to go about my affairs, as before, with leave; that I might be the better respected, in the liberty I took to follow it.

"King *William* answered, "That I was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs; and, that I might follow my business as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to say to me."—Upon which they pressed him to command one of them, to declare the same to the Secretary of State, Sir *John Trenchard*, that if I came to him, or otherwise, he might signify the same to me;—which he also did:—The Lords were *Rochebelle*, *Ranelagh*, and *Sidney*; and the last, as my greatest acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary; accordingly he did; and the Secretary, after speaking himself, and having it from King *William's* own mouth, appointed me a time to meet him at home; and did, with the *Marquis of Winchester*, and

1693.

King Wil-  
liam's an-  
swer, &c.

King *William* answered, "That *William Penn* was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs;—that he might follow his business, as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to say to him."—Upon which they pressed him to command one of them to declare the same to the Secretary of State, Sir *John Frenchard*; that, if he came to him, or otherwise, he might signify the same to him; which the

and told me, I was as free as ever; and, as he doubted not my prudence about my quiet living, so he assured me, I should not be molested, or injured in any of my affairs, at least while he held that post. The Secretary is my old friend, and one I served, after the D. of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russell's* business; I carried him in my coach to *Windfor*, and presented him to *King James*; and when the revolution came, he bought my four horses, that carried us. It was about three or four months before the revolution. The lords spoke the 25th. of November, and he discharged me on the 30th.

From the Secretary I went to our meeting, at the *Bull and Mouth*; thence to visit the sanctuary of my solitude; and after that, to see my poor wife and children; my eldest being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery; who is of the best of wives and women.

"From all this you may apprehend that I may yet see *America*, and shall certainly judge things, as I find them: for I have had hard measures among you; the province disgraced, and all our interest wounded: though I am tender and merciful, I am just; and neither my relations in blood, nor in judgment, I hope, shall be able to bias me into a wrong sense of apprehension: and I hope once more to unite you upon a common bottom:—I thus far of my enlargement, which, from a multitude of business, at this time, I send in another hand; I was also surprized at the short notice given me to write in.—The trial of *George Keith* has been indifferently spread all about the nation, especially at *London*, at the *Court*, *Westminster Hall*, and the *Parliament House*; the odium, it has contracted in some, stirred up in others; the advantage, the disaffected among us make by it, against unity, against Friends having power, against me and you, in particular, are great and lamentable; the Lord put a holy stop, by his wise power, to this evil work, and bring that which is so wrong, under his righteous judgment.—That you have a regard to my fight, I cannot but value; and hope it is that, and not humour, or disappointment, that engaged you to decline: Oh, the sorrowful conclusion of eight or nine years' government! but I hope soon to see an end of all this, if the Lord will; so, not willing to lose this opportunity, and especially upon this occasion, I salute you all in the unchangeable truth of the God, desiring your preservation, in that which is more valuable than all the world, to them that love it, and taste the virtue of it."—"Friends generally well; the war continues; great losses; poverty looking men in the face; and scarcity of bread also coming on apace; but *Ireland* helps, where it is at 2/3 and half-a-crown the bushel wheat; this is your harvest; I desire my love to Friends and your families; and the Lord preserve you in his fear; and what you can, make up your breaches; my love salutes you, and bids you, heartily, farewell.

"Your real Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

the King readily did; and the Lord Sidney, as *William Penn's* greatest acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary; which being done, the Secretary, after speaking himself, and having orders from the King, appointed *William Penn* a time to meet him at home; who then (November 30th.) in company with the *Marquis of Winchester*, told him, "*He was as free as ever*," adding, "That he doubted not his prudence about his quiet living, so he assured him, he should not be molested, or injured, in any of his affairs, at least, while he held that post."

Soon after this *William Penn* lost his beloved wife, *Gulielma Maria*, who died in the Twelfth-month this year; (1693) with whom he had lived, in all the endearments of that nearest relation, about twenty-one years; her excellent character, and pious exit, are related by himself in his printed works.

Death of  
his wife Gu-  
lielma Ma-  
ria.

He was reinstated in his government of *Pennsyl-* *W. Penn is*  
*vania*, by letters patent, dated 20th. day of Au- *re-instated*  
gust, in the sixth year of the reign of *William and* *in his go-*  
*Mary*;<sup>\*</sup> (1694) after which he sent a commission *Markham*  
*appointed*  
*to his deputy.*

<sup>b</sup> The copy of a duplicate of the grant, by which *William Penn* was restored to the Government of *Pennsylvania*, is as follows, viz.

"William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, defenders of the Faith, &c.

"WHEREAS, upon information, that, by reason of great miscarriages, in the government of our province of *Pennsylvania*, in *America*, and the absence of the Proprietor, the same was fallen into disorder and confusion; by means whereof not only the public peace, and administration of justice was broken and violated, but there was also great want of provision for the guard and defence of our said province against our enemies; whereby it was apprehended that our said province, and the adjacent colonies were much in danger of being lost from the crown of *England*: for prevention thereof, as much as in us lay, and for the better defence and security of our subjects, inhabiting these parts, during this time of war, we did find it absolutely necessary to take the government thereof into our hands, and under our immediate care and protection; and did, therefore, by letters patent, under our great seal of *England*, bearing date the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of our province of *New York*,



1694. to *William Markham*, constituting him his Lieutenant Governor of *Pennsylvania* and territories, dated Ninth-month 24th. 1694.

Now

to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over our said province of *Pennsylvania*, and country of *Newcastle*, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon, in *America*, with directions to take the said province and country under his government, and did thereby grant unto him, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, and in case of his death, or absence, out of our provinces of *New York* and *Pennsylvania*, our country of *Newcastle*, and our colonies of *East* and *West Jersey*, unto such person, as should be appointed by us to be Commander in Chief of our said province of *New York*, or to our Council of our said province, the like powers and authorities, as were granted by our commission to the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, bearing date, the eighteenth day of March, in the said fourth year of our reign, for the ruling and governing of our said province of *New York*. And whereas, humble application has been made unto us, by our trusty and well-beloved *William Pen*, Esquire, Proprietor of our said province of *Pennsylvania*, that he may be restored to the administration of the government thereof, as formerly. And whereas, the said Proprietor has given us good assurance, that he will take care of the government of our said province and territories, and provide for the safety and security thereof, all that in him lies, We have thereupon thought fit to restore him to the administration of the government of our said province and territories, and accordingly Our Will and Pleasure is, That so much of the said commission, bearing date the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, as doth constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of our said province of *Pennsylvania* and country of *Newcastle*, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in *America*, together with all the powers and authorities thereby granted for the ruling and governing of our said province and country, do, from the publication of these our letters patent, cease, determine, and become void, and accordingly the same are hereby declared void; of which all persons, whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly, under pain of our highest displeasure.

"IN WITNESS whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, Witness, Ourselves, at *Westminster*, the twentieth day of August, in the sixth year of our reign.

"By Writ of Privy Seal,

"PIGOTT."

About the beginning of the year 1696, the late King *James* intending an invasion of *England*, for which great preparations being made in *France*, and a plot being discovered, in *England*; against King *William*; it occasioned declarations to be drawn up and signed; in the manner of associations, not only by the two Houses of Parliament, but also by all the corporations in *England*; and the dissenters likewise presenting declarations to the King somewhat similar to these, the *Quakers*, in that nation, to shew their loyalty, &c. published the following declaration thereupon, in print; which here may shew the judgment and behaviour of that people there, on such occasions as are therein expressed, viz.

"The

Now for several years successively his beneficent services, and useful actions, divers ways, in his native country, particularly to his own religious society, are represented to have been very considerable; in which time he published divers useful treatises, on different subjects; which may be seen in the collection of his writings in print; he was likewise a solicitor to the government, for the relief of his friends the *Quakers*, in the case of oaths.

1694.  
His services  
in England,  
&c.

On the fifth of the First-month 1695-6, he consummated his second marriage, at *Bristol*, with *Hannah*, the daughter of *Thomas Callowhill*, and grand daughter of *Dennis Hollister*, an eminent merchant of

W. Penn's  
second marriage, &c.

" *The Ancient Testimony* of the people called *Quakers* renewed, with respect to the King and Government, and touching the present Association.

" WE, the said people, do solemnly and sincerely declare, That it hath been our judgment and principle, from the first day we were called to profess the light of *Christ Jesus* manifested in our consciences, unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our work, or business, to have any hand, or contrivance therein, nor to be busy-bodies, in matters above our station; much less to plot, or contrive the ruin, or overturn, of any of them: But to pray for the king, and for the safety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government, which he is pleased to set over us.

" And, according to this our *ancient and innocent principle*, we have often given forth our testimony, and now do, against all plotting, conspiracies, and contriving insurrections against the King, or the government, and against all treacherous, barbarous and murderous designs whatsoever, as works of the devil and darkness; and we sincerely bless God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them, by law, esteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

" And whereas, we, the said people, are required to sign the said association, we sincerely declare, that our refusing so to do, is not out of any disaffection to the King, or Government, nor in opposition to his being declared rightful and lawful King of these realms, but purely because we cannot, for conscience' sake, fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourselves, or any man else.

" And we believe that the timely discovery and prevention of the late barbarous design and mischievous plot, against the King and Government, and the sad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God; for which we, and the whole nation, have great cause to be humbly thankful to him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

" From a meeting of the said people, in *London*, the 23d. of the First-month, called *March*, 1695-6."

1696. of that city. She was said to be a religious young woman, of excellent qualities; with whom he lived during the rest of his life; and had issue by her, four sons and one daughter.

Death of his eldest son Springett. In the Second-month, 1696, his eldest son, by his former wife, named *Springett*, died at *Wormingburst*, in *Suffex*, of a consumption, in the twenty-first year of his age; a most hopeful and promising young man; whose character may be seen in his father's writings, together with that of his mother, before mentioned.


W. Penn visits Ireland, &c. After this *William Penn* paid a religious visit to his friends, the *Quakers*, in *Ireland*, accompanied by *John Everott* and *Thomas Story*; who were likewise two eminent preachers in that society; and he writ several treatises in vindication of his religious principles, &c. till the year 1699, when he began to make preparation to revisit his province of *Pennsylvania*.

Proceedings of Gov. Markham and the Assembly. *William Markham*, being by the Proprietary, after his restoration, constituted, or appointed, his Deputy Governor, as before observed, first, under that appointment, met a Council on the 20th. of April, and an Assembly, on the 10th. of September, 1695; which, after they had sat some time, appear to have been unexpectedly dissolved

by

The Names of the Members of Assembly, in 1695, were:—

| For Philadelphia.                | For Bucks.      | For Chester.       |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Edward Shippen, <i>Speaker</i> , | Josrua Hoopes,  | John Blunston,     |
| Alexander Beardsley,             | Henry Paxon,    | Bartholo. Coppock, |
| James Fox,                       | Samuel Dark,    | William Jenkins,   |
| Robert Owen,                     | Nicholas Waln,  | Robert Piles,      |
| John Bevan,                      | John Swift,     | Walter Forrest,    |
| John Parlane.                    | Joseph Miller.  | Philip Roman.      |
| For New Castle.                  | For Kent.       | For Suffern.       |
| Joseph England,                  | John Betts,     | John Stockley,     |
| Valentine Hollingsworth,         | William Rodkey, | Thomas Oldman,     |
| George Harland,                  | William Morton, | Joseph Booth,      |
| Edward Gibbs,                    | Simon Irons,    | Henry Moleston,    |
| Henry Hollingsworth,             | Daniel Brown,   | James Peterkill,   |
| Cornelius Empson.                | John Willard.   | Jonathan Bullay.   |

by *Markham*. The form of the writ, for calling 1695.  
that Assembly, was as follows, viz. 

(L. S.) “ *William Markham*, Esquire, Governor  
under *William Penn*, absolute Pro-  
prietary of the province of *Pennsyl-*  
*vania* and counties annexed, to *Ar-*  
*thur Meston*, Sheriff of the county  
of *Kent*, Greeting:

“ WHEREAS, their sacred Majesties, *William* Governor  
and *Mary*, by the grace of God, King and Queen writ for cal-  
of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, defen- ling the As-  
ders of the faith, &c. did, by their letters patent, ssembly.  
under the great seal of *England*, bearing date the  
one and twentieth day of October, in the fourth  
year of their reign, for the reasons therein ex-  
pressed, find it absolutely necessary to take the go-  
vernment of said province of *Pennsylvania* into  
their own hands, and under their immediate care  
and protection; and, therefore, did constitute and  
appoint *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, Captain Ge-  
neral, and Governor in Chief of their Majesties’  
province of *New-York*, to be Captain General, in  
and over their said Majesties’ province of *Pennsyl-*  
*vania*, and country of *New-Castle*, and all the  
tracts of land depending thereon in America,  
thereby commanding and requiring him, the said  
*Benjamin Fletcher*, to take the said province of  
*Pennsylvania* and country under his government;  
who accordingly took the same under his govern-  
ment, by publication of the said letters patent, in  
the town of *Philadelphia*, upon the 26th. of April,  
1693: And whereas, their sacred Majesties have  
since been most graciously pleased, by their letters  
patent, under the great seal of *England*, bearing  
date the 20th. day of August, in the sixth year of  
their reign, for the reasons therein expressed, to  
restore to the said *William Penn*, Proprietary of  
the said province of *Pennsylvania* and territories,  
unto the administration of the government thereof:  
And,

1695. And whereas, the said *William Penn* has been pleased, by his commission, under his hand, and seal of the said province, bearing date the 29th. day of the Ninth-month, 1694, to constitute me Governor, under him, of the said province of *Pennsylvania*, and counties annexed, strictly charging and commanding me, to govern according to the known laws and usages thereof. I, therefore, by virtue of the said power and authority, derived unto me, command you, that forthwith you summon all the Freemen of your said county, to meet upon the tenth day of April, at the usual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to chuse three persons, to serve in Provincial Council, one for three years, one for two years, and one other for one year; and six persons to serve as members of Assembly; and upon the election of members of Council, to acquaint them to attend me on the 20th. day of April next, at *Philadelphia*, to form a Provincial Council, to advise with me, in matters relating to the government; whereof they are not to fail; and make return of the names of the said Freemen, so to be chosen, and of this writ, into the Secretary's office, for the said province and territories, at and before the said 20th. day of April next;—hereof fail not at your peril; and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Markham's  
writ, &c.

*“ Given under my hand, and seal of the province, this 26th. day of March, annoque regni regis et reginæ, Gulielmi et Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. septimo, in the fourteenth year of the Proprietary's government, annoque Domini 1695.*

“ WILLIAM MARKHAM.”

1696. After this he called another Assembly, to meet at *Philadelphia*, on the 26th. of the Eighth-month, 1696. This Assembly chose *John Simcock* of *Chester*, for their Speaker; and, in a message to the Governor,

Proceed-  
ings of the  
Assembly.

vernor,

vernor, they observed, that though he had convened them, by his writs, not so conformable to their charter, as they could desire, (which was upon *Fletcher's* plan) yet they had obeyed the same, and considered what he had laid before them, *viz.* 1696.

Proceed-  
ings of the  
Assembly.

“ To answer the late Queen's letter, and the Proprietary's promise upon his restoration to the government;” respecting which they told him, “ That they were unanimously ready and willing to perform their duty therein, so far as in them lay, if the Governor would settle them in their former constitution, enjoyed before the government was committed to Governor *Fletcher's* trust;” which affairs, with the proceedings of the last Assembly, appear more fully in the following remonstrance, *viz.*

“ To *William Markham*, Governor under *William Penn*, Proprietor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging,

“ The remonstrance of the Freemen of the said province and territories, convened in Assembly, by virtue of the Governor's writs, at *Philadelphia*, the 28th. of October, in the eighth year of King *William's* reign, over *England*, &c. annoque Domini 1696.

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ THAT, whereas, the late King *Charles* the second, by his royal charter, made in the thirty-third year of his reign, under the great seal of *England*, was pleased to signify, that *William Penn*, (out of a commendable desire to enlarge the *British* empire, and promote such useful commodities as might be of benefit to the King and his dominions, as also to induce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the *Christian* religion) had humbly sought leave to transport an ample colony into this country; The Assembly's remonstrance to Governor *Markham*.

1696. try; wherefore, the said King, favouring the petition, and good purpose of the said *William Penn*, did, in and by the said charter, for him, his heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, all this said country, and tract of land, called *Pennsylvania*, and constituted him, the said *William Penn*, absolute Proprietor thereof, velling him, and such as were to be adventurers with him, the settlers and inhabitants of said province, with divers powers, privileges and immunities, under the reservations, provisos and restrictions, in the said charter specified; charging all officers, &c. to be, at all times aiding and assisting to the said *William Penn*, and unto the said inhabitants and merchants of the said province, in the full use and fruition of the benefits of the said charter.

“ In pursuance whereof the said *William Penn*, and divers substantial persons, who first embarked with him, in that so commendable a design, did soon afterwards (by the advice of learned council) conclude upon a certain frame of government, consistent with the powers of the said patent, but suitable with the *religious perswasions* of the major part of the undertakers, and well accommodated to all. This model, together with the franchises and immunities expressly granted by the aforesaid letters patent to the people, did induce them to conceive (and, we hope, upon just grounds too) that since the King had been so favourably pleased to incorporate them, and in so great a measure, connected the people's privileges with their properties, that they could not be any more divested of the one, than the other, but by due course of law, and proved more than ordinary motives to incline several hundreds to transport themselves and families into this country, out of divers parts; so that this province hath not been, at first, populated under *William Penn's* government, with transported

*sported felons, or criminals, but mostly, the people* 1696.  
*called Quakers, men of truth and sobriety, having*  
 visible estates and credit in the world; who, with  
 no less desires of that freedom, to answer the end  
 of the King's grant, (with respect to propagating  
 the Christian religion) were made willing to leave  
 their native land, part with their friends and near  
 relations, and remove themselves into the wilder-  
 ness, hoping to enjoy their said privileges and li-  
 berties, more than any prospect, they had of  
 worldly advantage, or preferment; and when they  
 arrived here, exposed themselves and tender fami-  
 lies to great hardships, (attending the hazard and  
 inconveniencies of a new plantation) exhausted  
 their estates, *and have not been at all chargeable to*  
*the crown,* in so considerable a settlement, as is  
 well known; but before they could thoroughly  
 come into a comfortable way of living and put  
 themselves into a capacity to pay either their parti-  
 cular, or public debts, this government became  
 (it seems) as the butt of our neighbour's envy;  
 who, misrepresenting things at home, did obtain  
 a commission from the King and Queen, constitu-  
 ting Colonel *Fletcher*, Commander in Chief over  
 this province and territories; who, during his  
 governancy, diverted the course of our legislative  
 procedure, and introduced another method; and  
 continued the same, until the said King and Queen  
 were favourably pleased, by their letters patent,  
 to restore the said Proprietary to the administration  
 of the government of this province and territories;  
 upon which restoration, the power and authority,  
 which Colonel *Fletcher* had made use of, to lay  
 aside our charteral rights and privileges, were, by  
 the said patent, determined, and made void.

“Wherefore, the Proprietary thought fit to  
 authorize thee, to act according to the known  
 laws and usages of this government: In pursuance  
 whereof thou wast pleased to issue forth thy writs,  
 directed



1696. directed to the respective Sheriffs of this province and territories, commanding them to summon all the Freemen of the respective counties to meet upon the tenth day of the month called April, 1695, in the usual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to chuse three persons, in each county, to serve in Provincial Council, one for three years, one for two years, and the other for one year; and six persons out of each county, to serve as Members of Assembly. In obedience to which writs elections were made, and a General Assembly began to be held here, on the tenth day of September, 1695:—And, truly, those of us, that attended that service, were glad, when thou so frequently expressed thy readiness to confirm our rights and privileges, adding, That thou wouldest not so much as endeavour to diminish them; which gave further encouragement to the then Representatives; who, with much alacrity, and dutiful acknowledgments of the King's justice and favour, in restoring the said Proprietary to his rights, did proceed to manifest their affections to the King, as well as their readiness to answer his expectations, about supporting this government, so far as, in conscience, they could, according to their ability, and circumstances of affairs; and so agreed to make an assessment of money, upon all estates within this province and country, for the support of government; which, together with the £250 Sterling, thentofore raised, and made payable to Colonel Fletcher, toward the support of this government, and not expressly appointed for any other particular use, they, the said Representatives, humbly desired might be deemed and taken, instead of the assistance required from this country; the same being in answer to the late Queen's letter, so far as, in conscience and abilities, they could comply therewith; and so perfected the bill, ready for thy passing; having joined therewith only one bill modelled with thy approbation, and corrected according

The Assembly's  
remonstrance.

cording to thy own direction, containing some fundamental liberties, which we look upon to be as much the people's rights, as the land they hold.

1696.

The Assembly's remonstrance.

“ But, instead of giving thy sanction to those bills, thou hast, contrary to the tenor of said writs, and against our legislative rights and privileges, undertaken to dissolve both Council and Assembly; which, we understand, was so surprizing and unexpected to the said Representatives, that they had neither time to explain their real intentions, in what they urged and insisted on, or opportunity to see the minutes of their journal perfected; whereby their proceedings might have been more fully and fairly rendered.

“ And we are given to understand, and those of us that were concerned in that dissolved Assembly, do declare, That where any thing has been there voted, about proceeding in legislation, without the formality of promulgating bills, according to charter, it was chiefly to expedite the passing of the Money-bill, to answer the late Queen's letter, in manner aforesaid, and not intended to be brought into example, unless agreed on, to be inserted in the other bill, or *New act of settlement*. And we also understand, that where mention was then made of any difficulty, or inconvenience, in resuming the charter, it was but in circumstantial, and had respect only to the time of meeting, number of members, and such like, not that we then did, or do now, think that the people had any way forfeited, or lost, the benefit and privileges in those branches thereof, which direct, that this government, according to the powers of the King's patent, and the late Duke of York's deeds of *feoffment*, should consist of the Proprietary, Governor and Freemen of the said province and territories, and in form of a Provincial Council and Assembly, chosen by the people; and that the Governor, or his Deputy, should perform no act of state, that relates to the justice,

1696. justice, trade, treasury, or safety of the province and territories, but by the advice of the said Provincial Council; and such other fundamental parts of the said charter, wherewith we are invested by virtue of the King's letters patent, for restoring the Proprietary.

The Assembly's remonstrance.

" Now, for as much as thou hast refused to pass the said bill, or *New Act of Settlement*, and not inclined to the advice of thy assistant, in issuing forth writs, for chusing Members of Council and Assembly, on the last charteral day of election, but used thy endeavours to discourage the people then to elect, and hast now convened us, contrary to our former usage, notwithstanding we still hold ourselves concerned to embrace this opportunity, as we are, and shall be, ready, upon all occasions, to express our duty and affection to the King, for his justice and favours to the government, and our well-wishes to thyself, we desire thee to take some speedy course to establish us in our just rights and privileges, whereby we may be in a fit posture effectually to answer and observe the King's command, relating to this government, and the Proprietary's engagements, in that behalf, so far as our religious persuasions can admit.

" Signed by order of the House,

" JOHN SIMCOCKE, *Speaker*.

Proceedings of the Governor & Assembly.

It does not appear what particular answer the Governor gave to this remonstrance; but that the Speaker, with the house, waited upon him, at his desire; to whom he delivered a letter, from the late Governor *Fletcher*, requesting money, for the relief of the *Indians* at *Albany*. Upon which, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the Eighth-month, 1696, a committee of the house, being jointed by a committee of the Council, in order to answer the Queen's letter, and preserve the people's privileges, agreed in recommending the following expedient, viz.

" The

"That the Governor, at the request of the Assembly, would be pleased to pass an act, (of settlement, must be understood) with a salvo to the Proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs, for chusing a full number of representatives, on the 10th. day of the First-month next, to serve in Provincial Council and Assembly, according to the charter, until the Proprietary's pleasure be known therein; and that, if the Proprietary shall disapprove the same, then this act shall be void, and no ways prejudicial to him, nor the people, in relation to the validity, or invalidity, of the said charter."—This was unanimously approved by the Assembly. A bill of settlement, and a money bill were thereupon agreed upon, prepared and passed.

The money bill was for raising three hundred pounds, for the support of government, and relieving the distressed *Indians*, inhabiting above *Albany*, in answer to the Queen's letter; which money, being immediately wanted, was, therefore, borrowed, until it could be raised by the act, and remitted to Colonel *Fletcher*, at *New-York*, to be applied to the use intended.

The bill of settlement being finished, besides four others, passed by *Markham*, it thence became the third frame of government; and, being afterwards enforced by some other laws, it continued in force till the year 1701.\*

In year 1697, Governor *Fletcher* of *New-York*, in a letter to *Markham*, informed him, that the three hundred pounds, sent last year, was expended in contingences, to feed and cloath the *Indians*, as was desired; and that he requested further assistance. A committee of the Council and Assembly,

The third  
frame of go-  
vernment.

1697-  
Fletcher  
solicits fur-  
ther aid for  
the Indians.

\* By this charter, or frame of government, the council was to consist of only two members out of each county, and the Assembly of four, making in all twelve members of council, and twenty-four of the Assembly, &c. See the appendix, No. 4.

1697. bly, to whom the affair was referred, in their report, in answer to this letter, expressed their acknowledgments for his, and that government's regard and candour to them, in applying that money to the use intended;—but, as to further supply, at present, they urged the infancy, poverty, and incumbered state of the colony, in excuse for non-compliance;—at the same time, declaring their readiness to observe the King's further commands, according to their religious persuasions and abilities."

1698. From about this time, till the arrival of the Proprietary, in the latter part of the year 1699, the accounts of the public affairs appear defective, or not many of much importance now occur. The province seems, at that time, to have enjoyed a state of great tranquillity and prosperity, when compared with that of other countries; but, it cannot be supposed, without some of those difficulties, which always attend the settlement of new colonies, and generally affect some more than others, of those concerned, and, in proportion, cause uneasiness among them; from which it would be unreasonable, even, to expect an entire exemption, in the state of human affairs: And, as prosperity and success create envy, in malignant minds

In a committee of Council, in 1697, appear the following names viz.

|                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| Samuel Carpenter,  | William Clarke, |
| Richard Halwell,   | Caleb Pusey,    |
| Phineas Pemberton, | John Curtis.    |

In 1698, the Names of the Members of Assembly were:

|                          |                                 |                     |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>For Philadelphia.</i> | <i>For Bucks.</i>               | <i>For Chester.</i> |
| Anthony Morris,          | Phi. Pemberton, <i>Speaker.</i> | Caleb Pusey,        |
| James Fox,               | Robert Heaton,                  | Samuel Lewis,       |
| Samuel Richardson,       | Joseph Kirkbride,               | Nathaniel Newlin,   |
| Andrew Bankson.          | Henry Baker.                    | Robert Carter.      |
| <i>For New Castle.</i>   | <i>For Kent.</i>                | <i>For Sussex.</i>  |
| Adam Peterfon,           | Richard Wilfon,                 | Thomas Oldman,      |
| Edward Gibbs,            | Robert Edmonds,                 | Jonathan Bailey,    |
| John Grubb,              | Henry Moleston,                 | Luke Watson, junr.  |
| Joseph England.          | William Moreton.                | Cornelius Willmott. |

minds, so we find, in this province, that what-  
 ever was a little amiss, at any time, it was gene-  
 rally exaggerated, and its true state misrepresented,  
 either by those who were natural enemies to its  
 prosperity, or by discontented spirits, within it,  
 both in early time and since: This appears, at  
 least, in part, to have been the cause of depriving  
 the Proprietary of his government, in 1692; and  
 of some part, of the royal requisitions, from such  
 an infant, incumbered, and particularly circum-  
 stanced colony, both in early and later times.

1698.  
 This colony  
 had enemies  
 after the re-  
 volution.

But however wicked people may endeavour to  
 cover themselves, by mixing among those of re-  
 putation, and the dishonest screen their character,  
 by associating with the honest, yet something of  
 this malignity of mind in some persons out of the  
 province, besides what might, in reality, have  
 been out of order in it, seems, at least, in part,  
 to have administered occasion, for the following  
 proclamation, with some others of the same nature,  
 which were published in the year, 1698.

“ By the Governor and Council of the province  
 of *Pennsylvania*, and counties annexed.

#### “ A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

“ WHEREAS, our Proprietary hath lately  
 given us to understand of sundry accusations, or  
 complaints, against this government, for conni-  
 ving at *illegal trade* and *harbouring of pirates*; as  
 also of the reports, that are gone to *England*,  
 about the *growth of vice* and *looseness* here.

A Procla-  
 mation of  
 the Govern-  
 or & Coun-  
 cil.

“ As to the former, it is evident, that they are  
 the effects of the envy and emulation of those,  
 who, by such unfair and indirect means, would  
 accomplish their designs against this government:  
 For that we are satisfied the generality of the peo-  
 ple, merchants and traders of this province and  
 territories, are innocent and clear of those impu-  
 tations.

1698. tations. And this country so posited, *Philadelphia* is become the road, where sailors and others do frequently pass and repass between *Virginia* and *New England*, so that it cannot be avoided, but the bad, as well as the good, will be entertained, in such an intercourse; and since common charity obliges us not to presume any persons guilty (especially of such great enormities) till by some legal probability, they appear so to be; and though we find that the Magistrates and people, in general, are, and have been, ready and, perhaps, more active and conscientious to serve the King and his officers, against all unlawful trade and piracy, when any such offences have, by any means, come to their knowledge, than any of those neighbouring colonies, who have been so querimonious against us, in that behalf; yet, we can do no less than, pursuant to our Proprietary's commands, put all in mind of their respective duties; that there be no just cause for such complaints.

A Proclamation.

“ And, as concerning vice, we also find, that the Magistrates have been careful and diligent to suppress it; but their endeavours have been sometimes ineffectual therein; by reason, that the ordinaries, or drinking houses, especially in *Philadelphia*, grow too numerous, and the keepers thereof disorderly, and regardless of the tenor and obligations of their licenses, whereby they prove ungrateful to the Governor, and a reproach to the government.

“ *Therefore*, these are strictly to charge and command all Magistrates and officers whatsoever within the province and territories, as they regard the honour of God, and their allegiance to the King, faithfully to put in execution all the acts or laws of trade and navigation, and also the laws and statutes extant against piracy, whenever there is any such occasion; and to use their utmost diligence and care in preventing, suppressing and punishing

punishing all vice, disorders and loose living, wheresoever, and in whomsoever it shall appear. And to that end, it is, by the Governor and Council, ordained, that, from and after the first day of March next ensuing, the Justices of the Peace of each county, in the province and territories, at their respective general, or private sessions, nominate and pitch upon such and so many *ordinary keepers*, or *innholders*, within the respective counties, as they shall be well assured will keep orders, and discourage vice: And the Governor is pleased to condescend that he will license those so approved of by the Justices, and will permit no other, to keep taverns, inns, or drinking houses, within this government, than such as shall be so recommended, from time to time.

1698.

A Proclamation.

“ And we further strictly charge and command all persons, within this government, as they will answer the contrary at their peril, that they give due assistance to the Magistrates and officers aforesaid, in putting the said laws in execution, and suppressing vice, that the wrath of God, and the King's displeasure may not be drawn upon this poor country.

“ Dated at *Philadelphia*, the twelfth day of the Twelfth-month, February, being the ninth year of the reign of *William* the Third, of *England*, &c. King, anno. Domini 1697-8.

“ Signed by order of the Governor  
and Council,

“ Per PATRICK ROBINSON.”

## CHAPTER



## CHAPTER XIV.

*William Penn, with his wife and family, sail for Pennsylvania.—Extract from his valedictory epistle to his Friends in Europe.—Yellow Fever in Pennsylvania.—Thomas Story, Arthur Cooke and Thomas Fitzwater.—Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly against piracy and illicit trade.—The Proprietary's concern for the benefit of the Indians and Negroes, with the measures used.—He meets Assemblies both at Philadelphia and Newcastle, &c. and prepares a new charter.—Order of Council, for a watch on the sea-coast, &c.—Money requested of the Assembly for the fortifications on the frontiers of New York.—Assembly's Address to the Proprietary on this occasion.—Observation on the nature of this requisition, &c.—Articles of Agreement between William Penn and the Indians about Susquehanna, &c.—Means provided for the benefit of the Indians.*

1699. **I**N the Sixth-month of the year 1699, *William Penn*, with his wife and family, took shipping for *Pennsylvania*; and, on the third day of the next following month, from on board the ship, lay in *Cowes' road*, near the *Isle of Weight*, he took his farewell of his Friends, in a valedictory epistle directed to all the people called *Quakers*, in *Europe*.

W. Penn  
sails for  
Pennsylvania.

\* This epistle consists chiefly of religious admonition, and may be seen in his printed works:—The following concluding expressions shew the nature and spirit of it, viz.

—“ And now, to the whole family and flock of God, in this *European* part of the world, of the same communion, according to the *penitential*

He failed on the ninth of the same month; and was near three months out at sea; so that he did not arrive in *Pennsylvania* until the beginning of the Tenth-month: when a dangerous and contagious distemper, called the *Yellow Fever*, having raged in the province, and carried off great numbers of people, had ceased. This remarkable sickness, which, in the latter part of this year, had caused a great mortality in *Philadelphia*, had, for some time before, been very fatal in some parts of the *West India* islands.

Yellow Fever in Philadelphia.

*Thomas Story*, before mentioned to have accompanied *William Penn* to *Ireland*, in the last year, 1698, a man of note and good abilities, and afterwards of much utility, in divers respects, to the province, first arrived in *Pennsylvania*, in, or about, this same year, 1699, by way of *Virginia*, on a religious visit to the colonies, in the service of preaching the gospel.\* In his *Journal of his Life*, speaking

Tho. Story arrives in Pennsylvania.

penfation of God, be they high or low, young or old, rich or poor, wise or simple, strong or weak, male or female, bond or free, I send this parting salutation of my most dear love, in the truth; beseeching you all to have me and mine in remembrance, not only, when upon the mighty waters, but when in the solitary deserts of *America*, if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither; for I am not above the love and prayers of my dear brethren, knowing I need them, and have often found, by good experience, that they avail much with the Lord.

"I must leave you, but I can never forget you; for my love to you has been, as *David's* and *Jonathan's*, above the love of women; and suffer me to say, that, to my power, I have, from the first, endeavoured to serve you, (and my poor country too, and that at my own charge) with an upright mind, however misunderstood and treated by some, whom I heartily forgive.

"Accept you my services, and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true and affectionate friend, brother and servant, in Christ Jesus,

" WILLIAM PENN.

" *Quaker, Isle of Wight, weighing anchor, the 3d of the Seventh-month, 1699.*" }

\* *Thomas Story* was born in *Cumberland*, in the north of *England*; he had a good education and was brought up to the law. After he came to man's estate, and maturity of judgment, he joined with the *Quakers*, and became an eminent preacher in their society. He was an intimate Friend of *William Penn*; and, soon after his arrival in the Province, was elected one of the council. He was appointed the first Recorder of the city of *Philadelphia*, by charter, in 1701. In the year 1706, having married

1699. ing of this sickness, at *Philadelphia*, where he was then present, he says:—"Great was the Majesty and Hand of the Lord, great was the fear, that fell upon all flesh; I saw no lofty, or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting, to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and funk, as such that waited, every moment, to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."

His account  
of the effect  
of this sick-  
ness in Phi-  
ladelphia.

The

married *Ann*, the daughter of *Edward Shippen*, and settled in the city, he continued to be of good and great service to the country, for a number of years, both in a religious and civil capacity, discharging the different and important offices, which he held, with great honor, skill and integrity, till about the year 1714; when, after his wife's decease, he returned, by way of *Barbadoes*, to *England*; where he continued the remainder of his life, and died at *Carlisle*, in the year 1742, aged about eighty years.

The following character of him was published in *England*, about the time of his decease, viz.

"*London, June 21<sup>st</sup>. 1742.*"

"Monday last, died of a paralytic disorder Mr. *Thomas Story*, an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*: a man justly esteemed and loved not only by that society, but by many others, not of the meanest rank, who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. He was truly a great and good man; whose principles led him to the performance of every moral and Christian duty; and whose life and doctrine concurred, in rendering him a fit example for gospel ministers, in wisdom, piety and humility. He had, without any professed application to the sciences, acquired a general knowledge in natural philosophy, and most branches of the mathematics; and had the most refined and extensive ideas in the metaphysics: the inward and eternal happiness of mankind was his favorite study. He was a complete gentleman, generous in his sentiments, affable in his behaviour, free and communicative to people in all stations and circumstances. His time was chiefly devoted to the service of God, in discharging that public concern of preaching the gospel; which he esteemed his indispensable duty. Of the good effect of whose extraordinary simplification and faithful labors there are many living witnesses. In short, if temperance, patience, forgiving injuries, humility, faith and charity are characteristics of a good man, and a minister of *Christ*, he was one."

On the second day of the Eighth-month, 1699, died *Arthur Cane*, a worthy magistrate of *Philadelphia*. He was one of the people called *Quakers*; and came from *London*, among the first, or more early settlers of the province. He had served in divers of the most considerable posts in the government, with a good character.

In the same month, died *Thomas Fitzwater*, a valuable member of the society, and a preacher among the *Quakers*.

The Proprietary and his family were received with the universal joy of the inhabitants, in general; which was the greater, on account of his known intention to fix his residence among them, during the remainder of his life.

1699.

The Proprietor received with great joy.

Soon after his arrival he met the Assembly; but it being then a very rigorous season, in the winter, much public business does not appear to have been transacted, at that time, besides attempting to discourage piracy and illicit trade; for which principally, at that time, the Proprietary seems to have convened them. He strongly represented the odium, to which he said this government was exposed at home, on this account; and the obligations, which he was under, to his superiors, to correct the same: Hence two laws were passed, for these purposes, and measures taken to clear the government from all unjust imputations of this nature.\*

The Proprietor meets the Assembly, &c.

Piracy and illicit trade discouraged

In the First-month of the year 1700, *William Penn*, at the monthly-meeting of his Friends, the *Quakers*, in *Philadelphia*, laid before them his concern, in which, he said, his mind had long been engaged, for the benefit and welfare of the *Negroes* and *Indians*; exhorting and pressing them to the full discharge of their duty, every way, in reference to these people; but more especially in regard to their mental part; that they might as frequently as possible have the advantage of attending religious meetings, and the benefit of being duly informed in the true Christian religion. Hence a meeting was appointed more particularly for the *Negroes* once every month; and means were used to have more frequent meetings with the *Indians*; *William Penn* taking part of the charge upon himself, particularly, the manner of it, and the procuring of interpreters.

1700.

W. Penn's concern for the *Indians* and *Negroes*

\* In the votes of Assembly, at this time, there appears to have been one person, named *James Brown*, a member of the House, and son-in-law of *William Markham*, accused, or suspected of piracy:—In consequence of which he was expelled the House;—But I find no proof of what was alledged against him on that account.

1700. The next Assembly was convened at *Philadelphia*, on the 10th. day of the Third-month; which was dissolved in the next month following, and another convened at *Newcastle*, in October. The upper counties, or the province, being dissatisfied with the charter, which had been passed by *Markham*, in 1696, part of the business of these Assemblies was the consideration and preparation of a new one, better adapted to their minds and circumstances.

Preparation of the new charter

The Proprietary had divers meetings with the different Assemblies, during his residence in the province; wherein a great variety of public business was transacted with much harmony, and general satisfaction: Part of which was the framing a body of laws, with the aforefaid new and last charter of privileges; the latter of which was not finished till the month of October, in the next following year.\*

In

\* The number of laws, passed by the Proprietary, during his stay, this time, in the country, was one hundred; of which the major part were passed at *New-Castle*.

N. B. In the spring of the year 1701, the sea coast, &c. appeared to have been so infested by pirates, as well as the dangers consequent on the French war, that the Governor and Council issued the following order for the prevention of any surprize, &c. in that respect. viz.

"At a Council held in *Philadelphia* the 2d. of the Fourth-month, 1701.

"Present:

"The Proprietor and Governor.

"Edward Shippen,           Griffith Owen,  
"Samuel Carpenter,       Caleb Parry."  
"Thomas Story,

"FOR the greater security of this province and territories, and for preventing, as far as may be. surprizes by vessels from sea.

"Ordered, That the Magistrates, for the county of *Sussex*, shall keep a watch point, and take care that a constant watch and ward be kept, at the hithermost *Cape*, near *Lewis*, in the said county: and in case any vessel shall appear from the sea, that may with good grounds, be suspected of designs against any part of the government;

"Ordered, That the said watch shall forthwith give notice thereof, with as exact a description and account of the vessel, as possibly they can, to the Sheriff of the said county; who is required immediately to dispatch a messenger, express, with the same to the county of *York*, from thence to be forwarded from Sheriff to Sheriff, through

In the beginning of the Sixth-month, 1701, 1701. the Proprietary acquainted the Assembly, "That the occasion of his calling them, at that time (though it was with reluctance, considering the season) was, to lay before them the King's letter, requiring *three hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, from this government, towards the fortifications, intended on the frontiers of *New-York*; and though he might have something else to lay before them, yet he deferred all, till they had considered this point."—

The Proprietor lays the King's letter before the Assembly.

After considering and debating on the subject of this letter, the Assembly excused themselves, at present, from complying with the said requisition, by the following address to the Proprietary, *viz.*

"To *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania.

"The humble address of the Assembly.

"*May it please our Proprietary and Governor,*

"WE, the Freemen of the province and territories, in Assembly met, having perused the King's letter, requiring a contribution of *three hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, towards erecting of forts, on the frontiers of *New-York*, &c. and having duly weighed and considered our duty and loyalty to our sovereign, do humbly address and represent, that, by the reason of the infancy of this colony, and the great charge and cost, the inhabitants

The Assembly's address to the Proprietor on the occasion.

[54]

have

county, till it be brought to the Government, at *Philadelphia*; which watch and expences shall be a provincial charge."

"Signed by order,

"*JAMES LOGAN*, Secretary."

*Note.*—"In the First-month 6th. 1701, Ordered, That there shall be no slaughter-house suffered in, or about, the town of *Philadelphia*, but over the river *Delaware*, where the tide may carry off all the garbage, gore, &c. (the places to be appointed by the Magistrates) under penalty of forfeiting their meat."

*Journals of the Council of Pennsylvania.*

1701. have hitherto been at, in the settlement thereof, and because of the late great sums of money, which have been assessed on the province and territories, by way of impost and taxes, besides the arrears of quit-rents, owing by the people, our present capacity will hardly admit of levying of money, at this time. And further, taking into consideration, that the adjacent provinces have hitherto (as far as we can understand) done nothing in this matter; we are, therefore, humbly of opinion, and accordingly move, that the further consideration of the King's letter may be referred to another meeting of Assembly, or until more emergent occasions shall require our further proceedings therein: In the meantime we earnestly desire the Proprietary would candidly represent our conditions to the King, and assure him of our readiness (according to our abilities) to acquiesce with, and answer, his commands, so far as our religious persuasions shall permit, as becomes loyal and faithful subjects so to do."

Though the Assembly, in this case, appeared not unwilling to contribute to the common defence, if the circumstances of the colony would have permitted; and the Proprietary himself particularly further urged a compliance, in this matter, in his speech to the next following Assembly; yet the nature of this letter and requisition, to such a young and infant colony, considering the principles, upon which it was primarily planted and founded, seemed to indicate, that it was not without enemies, in Court: for the pacific principles and motives, or views, of *William Penn*, and of the first and early adventurers, in general, under him, in settling this wilderness, 'tis presumed, could not possibly be less known, at this time, to the administration at home, than they were before, to the persons in power, when the royal charter was granted by King Charles the second; from which knowledge of them it was impossible that any thing immediately

Pennsylvania not without enemies at Court.

immediately, or directly, of a military nature could reasonably be expected in the settlement:—which charter expressly mentions, the motives for the said grant were,—“A commendable desire of *William Penn* to enlarge our *English* empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us, and our dominions, and also to reduce the savage natives, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and Christian religion;”—besides a debt, due from the government to his father, admiral *Penn*.

1701.

Motives for the grant & settlement of Pennsylvania.

Such motives as these, and not those of a military nature, were most certainly the chief inducement for the settlement of *Pennsylvania*, not only in the settlers themselves, together with the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, and civil liberties, but also in those, who made the grant;—if they properly knew to whom, and on what principles they made it; which it would be very absurd to deny:—As for the experiment, or consequence, of the operation of these principles, or motives, in the province, it will, in part, hereafter appear in this history.

Pennsylvania was not first settled from views of a military nature, but the contrary.

The cultivation of peace and civilization, and of the articles of trade and commerce, in which the *Quakers* were known to excel, must be acknowledged to be no less important and necessary, to render a state happy and prosperous, than weapons of war, and fighting of battles; and these people were then, and have since been still more known, from experience, to practise, as well as profess, those ways and means, which excel the latter, so far as the prevention of an evil does the cure of it.

War not better than peace, &c.

Moreover, since it is improbable, that people of this kind will ever be very numerous, if we judge of the future by what is past; but that war and its consequences, will be more likely to prevail among the generality of mankind, so long as the cause

Motives and means of peace rather to be encouraged

of



1701. of it exists in the human race; so the rarity of such people, their innocence, and known great utility, in other respects, seem, according to reason, to render them rather objects of encouragement, in their own way, than of oppression, even, from the military department itself, but more especially so, where peace is preferred to war:—But, if it should be otherwise, and they should so increase, as much to prevail among mankind, then the occasion for war would consequently so much decrease, or be taken away; which would be a happy change indeed.

Transacti-  
ons between  
W. Penn &  
the Indians.

In the Second-month, 1701, *Connodaghtob*, king of the *Susquahanna*, *Minquays* or *Conestogo Indians*; *Wopaththa*, (alias *Opeffah*) king of the *Shawanese*; *Weewhinjough*, chief of the *Ganawese*, inhabiting of the head of *Potomack*; also *Abookassongh*, brother to the emperor, (or great king of the *Onondagoes*) of the *Five Nations*, having arrived at *Philadelphia*, with other *Indians* of note, &c. in number about forty, after a treaty, and several speeches between them and *William Penn*, in Council, the following *articles of agreement* were solemnly made, concluded, and the instrument for the same, duly executed by both parties, viz.

Articles  
of Agree-  
ment.

“ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, indented, made, concluded and agreed upon, at *Philadelphia*, the 23d. day of the Second-month, called April, 1701, between *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, on the one part, and *Connodaghtob*, king of the *Indians*, inhabiting upon and about, the river *Susquahanna*, in the said province, and *Widaagh* (alias *Orettyagh*;) *Koquesb* and *Andaggy*, *Junckquagh*, chiefs of the said nations of *Indians*; and *Wopaththa*, king, and *Lemoytungb* and *Pemoyajoaagh*, chiefs of the nations of the *Shawanese Indians*; and *Abookassongh*, brother to the emperor

for, and in behalf of the emperor; and *Weewhin-jough*, *Chequittayb*, *Takyewfan* & *Woapraskoa*, chiefs of the nations of the *Indians*, inhabiting in and about the northern part of the river *Potomack*, in the said province, for, and in behalf of themselves and successors, and their several nations and people, on the other part, as followeth:

1701.

“ That, as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding and neighbourhood between the said *William Penn*, and his Lieutenants, since his first arrival in the said province, and the several nations of *Indians*, inhabiting in and about the same, so there shall be, for ever hereafter, a firm and lasting peace continued between *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, and all the *English*, and other Christian inhabitants of the said province, and the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, and all the several people of the nations of *Indians* aforesaid; and that they shall, for ever hereafter, be as one head, and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity, as one people.

Their  
friendship  
confirmed.

“ *Item*, That the said kings and chiefs (each for himself, and his people, engaging) shall, at no time, hurt, injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their *Indians*, any inhabitant, or inhabitants of the said province, either their persons or estates; And that the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer to be done, or committed, by any of the subjects of *England*, within the said province, any act of hostility, or violence, wrong or injury to, or against any of the said *Indians*; but shall, on both sides, at all times, readily do justice, and perform all acts and offices of friendship and good-will, to oblige each other to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

Never to  
injure one  
another.

“ *Item*, That all and every of the said kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, shall, at all times, behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this

To be sub-  
ject to the  
laws of the  
government.


1701. this government, while they live near, or among the *Christian* inhabitants thereof, and that the said *Indians* shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of *England*, and government of this province.

Not to aid or abet the enemies of the government. “*Item*, That none of the said *Indians* shall, at any time, be aiding, assisting, or abetting any other nation, whether *Indians*, or others, that shall not, at such time, be in amity with the crown of *England*, and with this government.

To give due notice of ill Designs. “*Item*, That, if, at any time, any of the said *Indians*, by means of evil minded persons, and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the *English*, as if they had evil designs against any of the said *Indians*, in such case, such *Indians* shall send notice thereof, to the said *William Penn*, his heirs, or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports, till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants, shall, at all times, in such case, do the like by them.

Not to admit strange Indians to settle in the province. “*Item*, That the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, shall not suffer any strange nations of *Indians* to settle, or plant, on the further side of *Susquahanna*, or about *Potomack* river, but such as are there already seated, nor bring any other *Indians* into any part of this province, without the special approbation and permission of the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors.

Regulation of the Indian trade. “*Item*, That, for the prevention of abuses, which are too frequently put upon the said *Indians*, in trade, the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer, or permit, any person to trade, or converse, with any of the said *Indians*.

but such as shall be first allowed and approved, 1701.  
 by an instrument, under the hand and seal of him,   
 the said *William Penn*, or his heirs, or successors,  
 or their Lieutenants; and that the said *Indians*  
 shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or  
 have commerce with any of them, the said *Indians*,  
 but such as shall first be approved, as aforesaid.

“*Item*, That the said *Indians* shall not sell, or  
 dispose of, any of their skins, pekry, or furs, or  
 any other effects of their hunting, to any person,  
 or persons whatsoever, out of the said province,  
 nor to any other person, but such as shall be au-  
 thorised, to trade with them, as aforesaid: And,  
 that, for their encouragement, the said *William*  
*Penn*, his heirs and successors, shall take care to  
 have them, the said *Indians*, duly furnished with  
 all sorts of necessary goods, for their use, at rea-  
 sonable rates.

“*Item*, That the *Potomack Indians*, aforesaid, Of the Po-  
tomack In-  
dians.  
 with their colony, shall have free leave of the said  
*William Penn*, to settle upon any part of *Potomack*  
 river, within the bounds of this province: They  
 strictly observing and practising all, and singular,  
 the articles aforesaid, to them relating.

“*Item*, The *Indians* of *Conestogo*, upon, and Confirma-  
tion of for-  
mer sale of  
lands, &c.  
 about, the river, *Susquahanna*, and more especi-  
 ally, the said *Connoodaghtoh*, their king, doth fully  
 agree to, and by these presents, absolutely ratify  
 the bargain and sale of lands, lying near and  
 about the said river, formerly made to the said  
*William Penn*, his heirs and successors; and since,  
 by *Orettyagh* and *Andaggy*, *Junckquagh*, parties to  
 these presents, confirmed to the said *William Penn*,  
 his heirs and successors, by a deed, bearing date,  
 the 13th. day of September last, under their hands  
 and seals, duly executed. And the said *Connoo-  
daghtoh* doth, for himself and his nation, covenant  
 and agree, that he will at all times, be ready fur-  
 ther

1701. ther to confirm, and make good the said sale, according to the tenor of the same; and that the said *Indians* of *Susquahanna* shall answer the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, for the good behaviour and conduct of the said *Potomack Indians*; and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

W. Penn obliges himself, &c. to perpetual friendship with the *Indians*.

“*Item*, The said *William Penn* doth hereby promise, for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, shew themselves true friends and brothers to all, and every of the said *Indians*, by assisting them with the best of their advices, directions and counsels, and will, in all things, just and reasonable, befriend them; they behaving themselves, as aforesaid, and submitting to the laws of this province, in all things, as the *English*, and other *Christians* therein, do;—To which they, the said *Indians*, hereby agree and oblige themselves, and their posterity for ever.

These Articles never to be broken

“*In witness whereof*, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other; the *Indians*, in five parcels of skins, and the said *William Penn*, in several *English* goods and merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the premises, never to be broken or violated;—And, as a further testimony thereof, have also to these presents set their hands and seals, the day and year above written.”

Abuses in the Indian trade, &c.

After this, in the Third-month, the Proprietars having represented to the Council, the great abuse committed in the *Indian* trade, with the danger and disadvantages, which might arise from them to the province, and having proposed, that proper measures should be concerted, for the regulation thereof, and for redressing certain grievances, respecting the same, it was *Resolved*, as absolutely necessary, that some effectual method should be agreed on and used for carrying on the trade by

Resolution to correct them.

cert

certain number, or company, of persons, with a joint stock, under certain regulations and restrictions, more particularly in regard to spirituous liquors sold them; which company should use all reasonable means and endeavours to induce the *Indians* to a true sense of a proper value and esteem of the *Christian religion*, by setting before them good examples of probity and candour, both in commerce and behaviour; and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of *Christianity*.—This appears afterwards to have been, in a good degree, put in execution, so far as was judged requisite, or found practicable. 1701.

[55]

## CHAPTER

CHAPTER XV.

*The Proprietary's administration, though attended with difficulties, was distinguished with great paternal care, and happy consequences.—Reasons for his return to England.—Names of the members of Assembly, in 1701.—The Proprietary's speech to the Assembly, with their answer.—Further proceedings between them.—The Proprietary takes leave of the Indians, and gives them good advice.—Disagreement between the province and territories revives again.—The Proprietary endeavours to reconcile them.—His letter to the Assembly, urging their agreement, &c.—The last charter of Pennsylvania, &c.—Charter of the Council, &c.—The Proprietary also grants a charter to the city of Philadelphia.—Its purport.—Andrew Hamilton of New-Jersey being constituted Deputy Governor, and James Logan Secretary of the province.—The Proprietary sails for England.*

1701. **I**T was thought, from some circumstances, that the Proprietary's real intention, at this time, was to spend the remainder of his life, in his province, as himself declared, and that without being obliged to cross the ocean any more; he accordingly applied himself with much diligence and assiduity to the offices of government, and the establishing of wholesome regulations and usages; in which inevitable difficulties, arising from the various dissensions, and opposite interests and claims of such a mixture of different kinds of people and humours,

The Proprietary's application & diligence

Yet cannot please all.

as the colony consisted of, and in so much liberty as they enjoyed, afforded him much trial of skill and patience: yet his administration was distinguished by great paternal care and influence, as well as provident circumspection; and both the provinces and territories, notwithstanding the difficulties, hardships, and inevitable disappointments, which, more or less, always attend the settlement and well ordering of any new country, appear to have so much tried the patience of some of the people, as to occasion him more trouble, in some respects, than otherwise probably would have been necessary, were, in reality, when compared with other places of similar age and circumstances, in an easy, flourishing and happy condition.

But, during this time of his absence from *England*, it appears that measures were in agitation there, for reducing both his, and the other proprietary governments, in *America*, into regal ones, under pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown, and the national advantage;\* and a bill, for that purpose, was actually brought into the House of Lords: Upon which, such of the owners of land in *Pennsylvania*, as were then in *England*,

1701.  
Trans-  
actions in  
England call  
home the  
Proprietary

\* Attempts of this nature were likewise afterwards made, as appears in *Anderson's* history of trade and commerce. vol 2d. under the year 1715; wherein are the following observations on this head, viz.

—“ Upon a petition of the agent for the planters and merchants of *Carolina*, and of the other miserable inhabitants of that colony, oppressed by the Lords Proprietaries, and their defence against the *Indians* neglected, &c. the House of Commons addressed the King, to send them relief, and in the said year, (1715) a bill was brought into the *British House of Commons*, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments, in *America*, and of his Majesty's plantations there. The principal scope of which was, for the reducing all the said proprietary charter governments into regal ones. Ever since the proprietary colonies began to be very considerable, i. e. since the death of King *Charles* the second, and more especially since the revolution, anno 1688, both King *William* and Queen *Ann's* councils and ministries foresaw the great consequence, it would be of to the Crown and Kingdom, to buy off the Lords Proprietaries of colonies, before they should grow too powerful; and frequent treaties were held with them by the Ministers of the Crown, for that end; particularly with the truly great Mr. *William Penn*, for the purchase of *Pennsylvania*.”—



1701. *England*, immediately represented the hardship of their case to the *Parliament*, soliciting time for *William Penn's* return, to answer for himself; and accordingly they dispatched to him an account of the state of the affair, and pressed his return, as soon as possible; with which he found it indispensably necessary to comply. This first occasioned his summoning of that Assembly, which agreed to the charter of privileges before mentioned; to whom, on the 16th. of September, 1701, he made the following speech,\* viz.

He summons the Assembly.

" *Friends,*

The Proprietary's speech to the Assembly.

" YOU cannot be more concerned, than I am, at the frequency of your service, in Assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble and charge, it contracts upon the country: But the motives being considered, and that you must have met, of course, in the next month, I hope you will not think it an hardship now.

" The reason, that hastens your sessions, is the necessity, I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the prosperity of this country, to go for *England*, where, taking advantage of my absence, some have attempted, by false, or unreasonable charges, to undermine our government, and thereby the true value of our labours and prosperity. Government having been our first encouragement, I confess, I cannot think of such

voyage

\* The Names of the Members of this Assembly, for the respective counties, chosen according to the Governor's writs, were:—

| <i>For Philadelphia.</i> | <i>For Bucks.</i>                | <i>For Chester.</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Anthony Morris,          | Joseph Growdon, <i>Speaker</i> , | John Blunston,      |
| Samuel R. chardson,      | John Swift,                      | Robert Pike,        |
| Nicholas Walne,          | Joshua Hoopes,                   | Nathaniel Newlin,   |
| Isaac Norris.            | William Paxton.                  | Andrew Job.         |
| <i>For New Castle.</i>   | <i>For Kent.</i>                 | <i>For Sussex.</i>  |
| Jasper Yeates,           | William Rodney,                  | William Clarke,     |
| John Donnaldson,         | John Brinkloe,                   | Luke Watson, junr,  |
| Richard Hallowell,       | William Morton,                  | Samuel Preston,     |
| Adam Peterlon.           | John Walker.                     | Joseph Booth.       |

voyage without great reluctance of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long, at least, with you, as to render every body entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you, as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think: and no unkindness, or disappointment shall (with submission to God's Providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return, and settle my family and posterity in it: But having reason to believe, I can, at this time, best serve you and myself, on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family can over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

1701.

The Proprietary's  
speech to  
the Assembly.

"Think, therefore, (since all men are mortal) of some suitable expedient and provision, for your safety, as well in your privileges, as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy, by a nearer union of our interests.

"Review again your laws; propose new ones, that may better your circumstances; and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the end of next month; and that the sooner I am there, the safer, I hope, we shall be here.

"I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care the King's letter to me, for the assistance of *New-York*, with *three hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, as a frontier government; and therefore exposed to a much greater expence, in proportion to other colonies; which I called the last Assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased, for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

Vide page  
425.

"I am also to tell you the good news of the Governor of *New-York's* happy issue of his conferences with the *five nations of Indians*; that he hath not only made peace with them, for the King's subjects

1701. subjects of that colony; but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments, under the crown of *England*, on the continent of *America*, as also the nations of *Indians*, within these respective colonies; which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

The Proprietary's speech to the Assembly.

"I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own sakes; since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those, that too long have sought the ruin of our young country."

To this speech the Assembly replied in the following address.

"*May it please the Proprietary and Governor,*

The Assembly's answer.

"WE have, this day, in our Assembly, read thy speech, delivered yesterday, in Council; and, having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow, for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time, taking notice of thy paternal regard to us, and our posterity, the Freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions shall offer, for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy, in a nearer union of interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, we do, in much humility, and, as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee, the unfeigned thanks of this house,

"*Subscribed by order of the house,*

"JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker*

After this, the Assembly presented to him another address, consisting of twenty-one articles, and respected his successor, in the government,

the confirmation of certain privileges, therein specified. To every one of which he made a special answer. The first of these articles, so far as regarded a proper person to succeed him, as Deputy, being particularly insisted on, he condescended so much as to make them an offer, to nominate a substitute themselves! From which, acknowledging the favor offered them, they modestly excused themselves; declaring they did not think themselves qualified for the choice, and desired to leave it to the Governor's pleasure. The rest of the petition of this address (which, with the Governor's answer, may be seen in the appendix No. 5) so far as the Proprietary thought proper to comply with it, was either afterwards granted, in the two charters of the province and city, then in agitation, or otherwise mutually agreed, to general satisfaction; though in some parts of it, the Assembly had meddled with his property, in such a particular manner, as, he declares, was not properly cognizable by them, in that capacity.\*

1701.

Vide Appendix, No. 5.

The *Sachems* of the *Susquahanna* and *Shawanna* Indians, and others of that people, being come to *Philadelphia*, to take leave of the Proprietary, on the

The Indians come to take leave of the Proprietor.

\* "At a Council held in *Philadelphia*, the 26th of the Seventh-month, 1701.

"Present:

"The Proprietary and Governor.

"Samuel Carpenter,

John Gueft,

"Thomas Story,

Caleb Pusey.

"THE Governor having desired a conference with the Assembly, they attended, requesting to know his pleasure.

"The Governor signified to them, that, in his speech, he had recommended to them, to consider their privileges as well as property, in which he had justly given privileges the precedence to property, as the bulwark, to secure the other; but they, in their address (which he had considered) insisted not only on property alone, but upon such particulars as could, by no means, be cognizable by an Assembly; and lay only between him and the particulars concerned: In which he had done, and always would do, to the utmost, what becomes an honest man, to all those he agreed with;—but he would never suffer an Assembly to intermeddle with his property, lest it should be drawn into a precedent, if it should please God. A Governor should preside here, distinct from the Proprietary," &c.

*Minutes of Council.*

1701. the 7th. of the Eighth-month, he spoke to them in Council,\* and told them, "That the Assembly was then enacting a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by felling of *rum* among them; that he requested them to unite all their endeavours, and their utmost exertion, in conjunction with those of the government, to put the said law in execution.

His speech  
to them.

At the same time he likewise informed them, "That now, this was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return;—That he had always loved and been kind to them; and ever should continue so to be, not through any politic design, or, on account of self interest, but from a most real affection:"—"And he desired them, in his absence, to cultivate friendship with those, whom he should leave behind in authority; as they would always, in some degree, continue to be so to them, as himself had ever been;—Lastly, That he had charged the members of Council, and then also renewed the same charge, that they should, in all respects, be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good-will, as himself had ever done: which the said members promised faithfully to observe;—then, after making them some presents, they withdrew."

Extra &  
from the  
Minutes of  
Council.

But during these transactions, and while the charter of privileges was under consideration and preparing, the disagreement, which had before appeared, between the members of Assembly for the the province and those for the territories, began again to exhibit itself, and grow worse, tending to an open rupture. The territory men were said to have been for obtaining some exclusive powers, or rights, particular to themselves, which, being thought

Disagree-  
ment be-  
tween the  
Province &  
Territories.

\* The Members of Council present were:—

Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Paden, John Guest, Griffith Owen.

thought unreasonable, could not, therefore, be granted them; and not being able to carry their point, on the 10th. instant, the members for the territories abruptly left the House; declaring their intention of returning to their respective homes. But, on the 14th. most of them appeared before the Proprietary, in Council, remonstrating against some proceedings of the Assembly, on the 10th. instant, which, they declared, were, in their consequences, highly injurious and destructive to the privileges of the *lower counties*, and which, consistent with their duty to their constituents, they apprehended, they could not fit there, to see carried on; and, therefore, they informed the Governor, they thought it best for them to depart to their respective habitations:—

1701.  
Disagree-  
ment be-  
tween the  
Province &  
Territories.

The Proprietary further enquired into the affair and both heard and answered all their reasons and objections; and then told them, “That he took this their conduct very unkind, even to himself in particular.”

Upon which *Jasper Yeates*, in behalf of the rest, endeavoured to excuse, or further explain, their behaviour, in this action, by declaring their great affection and regard for the Proprietary, but, that they must be true to those, whom they represented.—

At another meeting of the Proprietary and Members of Council, on the same day, the Assembly being sent for, both those for the province, and the secluding members appeared;

The Proprietary told them, “That his time being short, he must come briefly to the point; that it was no small wound to him, to think, that at the *earnest desire* of the *lower counties*, as well as the *good-will* of the *upper*, he had engaged in an undertaking, which cost him, at least, two or three thousand pounds, to unite them, and yet, that they should now endanger that union, and divide, after

1701. they had been recognized as one, not only by the King's *commission* to Governor *Fletcher*, but also by his *letters patent*, for his own restoration, and the King's several letters:—he, therefore, would not have any thing *resolved* on, but what was considerate and weighty, lest it should look as unkind, and now, at his departure, carry a very ill report of them to *England*."

The Proprietor endeavours to reconcile the Province & Territories.

The territory members objected, that they were great sufferers by that act of union, however it was, at first, intended; and could not support the burden of the charge.

The Proprietary replied, "They were free to break off, and might act distinctly by themselves;" at which they seemed pleased, and expressed their satisfaction; "But then," continued the Proprietary, "it must be upon amicable terms, and a good understanding;—That they must first *resolve* to settle the laws;—and that, as the interest of the *province*, and that of those *lower counties* would be inseparably the same, they should both use a conduct consistent with that relation," &c.

They remain obstinate.

They appear to have remained obstinate, by the following letter of the Proprietary, written the next day, and directed to the Speaker, to be communicated to the whole House, *viz.*

"Friends,

The Proprietary's letter to the Assembly.

"YOUR union is what I desire; but your peace and accommodating one another, is what I must expect from you: The reputation of it is something, the reality much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: Yield in *circumstantial*s, to preserve *essential*s; and, being safe one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for,

"Your Friend and Proprietary and Governor

"WILLIAM RAYMOND

"October 15th. 1701."

Hence the Proprietary's influence and authority, 1701. though with difficulty, appear to have prevailed on them, to a present accommodation; with the provision, in the following charter, for a conditional separation, if they chose it, within the space of three years. They come, to a present accommodation.

In May, 1700, the former charter having been surrendered into the hands of the Proprietary and Governor, by six parts in seven of the Assembly, on the 28th day of October, 1701, just before his departure, the Council, the Assembly of the province, and several of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia attending, he presented them with their last charter of privileges, which is as follows, viz. The charter of privileges executed.

"THE CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES, The charter itself.  
" Granted by William Penn, Esquire, to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and territories:

" William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to all, to whom these presents shall come, sendeth Greeting;

" WHEREAS, King Charles the second, by his letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date, the fourth day of March, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my heirs and assigns for ever, this province of Pennsylvania, with divers great powers and jurisdictions, for the well government thereof. Recital of the King's Letters Patent.

" And whereas, the King's dearest brother, James, Duke of York and Albany, &c. by his deeds of feoffment, under his hand and seal, duly perfected, bearing date, the 24th day of August, one thousand six hundred, eighty and two, did grant unto me, my heirs and assigns, all that tract of land, now called the territories of Pennsylvania, together Of the D. of York's deeds of feoffment.



1701. together with powers and jurisdictions, for the  
 ~~~~~ good government thereof.

And of the former charter. “*And whereas*, for the encouragement of all the freemen and planters, that might be concerned in the said province and territories, and for the good government thereof, I, the said *William Penn*, in the year one thousand, six hundred and eighty and three, for me, my heirs and assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers therein, divers liberties, franchises and properties, as, by the said grant, entitled, “*The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, in America*,” may appear; which charter, or frame, being found, in some parts of it, not so suitable to the present circumstances of the inhabitants, was, in the Third-month, in the year one thousand seven hundred, delivered up to me, by six parts of seven of the freemen of this province and territories, in General Assembly met, provision being made in the said charter for that end and purpose.

“*And whereas*, I was then pleased to promise, that I would restore the said charter to them again, with necessary alterations, or, in lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present circumstances and conditions of the said inhabitants; which they have now, by the Representatives, in General Assembly met, at *Philadelphia*, requested me to grant.

“*KNOW YE THEREFORE*, That, for the further *well-being*, and *good government* of the said province and territories; and in pursuance of the rights and powers, before mentioned, I, the said *William Penn*, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers, and other inhabitants of and in, the said Province and Territories thereunto annexed, forever.

I. “*BECAUSE* no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of their liberties

liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to religious profession and worship; And Almighty God being the only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits; and the Author, as well as Object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind, and perswade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare, that no person, or persons, inhabiting this province or territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world; and profess him, or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be, in any case, molested, or prejudiced, in his or their person, or estate, because of his or their conscientious perswasion, or practice, nor be compelled, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his, or their mind, or to do or suffer, any other act, or thing, contrary to their religious perswasion.

1701.

Liberty of
conscience,
&c. granted


“ And, that all persons, who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other perswasions, or practices, in point of conscience and religion) to serve this government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he, or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, allegiance to the King, as sovereign, and fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the attests, as now established by law, made at *Newcastle*, in the year one thousand seven hundred, entitled, “ *An act directing the attests of several officers and ministers*, as now amended and confirmed this present Assembly.

Christians
of all kinds
capable of
offices, &c.

Repealed
by the queen
anno 1705.

II. “ For the well-governing of this province and territories, there shall be an Assembly, yearly chosen, by the freemen thereof, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue,

An Assembly to be
chosen annually.

1701.  tue, wisdom and ability, (or of a greater number, at any time, as the Governor and Assembly shall agree) upon the first day of October, for ever; and shall sit on the fourteenth of the same month at *Philadelphia*, unless the Governor and Council, for the time being, shall see cause to appoint another place, within the said province or territories: which Assembly shall have power to chuse a Speaker, and other their officers; and shall be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; sit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees; propose bills, in order to pass into laws; impeach criminals and redress grievances; and shall have all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of *England*, and as is usual in any of the King's plantations in *America*.

Powers and privileges of the Assembly.

“ And if any county, or counties, shall refuse, or neglect, to chuse their respective representatives, as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in Assembly, those, who are so chosen and met, shall have the full power of an Assembly, in as ample a manner as if all the Representatives had been chosen and met, provided they are not less than two-thirds of the whole number, that ought to meet.

Two-thirds met to have the whole power, &c.

And, that the qualifications of electors and elected, and all other matters and things relating to elections of Representatives, to serve in Assembly, though not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain, as by a law of this government, made at *Newcastle*, in the year one thousand seven hundred, entitled, “ *An act to ascertain the number of members of Assembly, and to regulate the elections*.”

Qualifications of electors and elected.

Repealed by the Queen, 1705.

III. “ That the freemen in each respective county, at the time and place of meeting, for electing their representatives, to serve in Assembly, may so often as there shall be occasion, chuse a double number of persons, to present to the Governor for

for sheriffs and coroners, to serve for three years 1701.
 if they so long behave themselves well, out of which Elections.
 elections and presentments the Governor shall no- of Sheriffs
 minate and commissionate one for each of the said and Cor-
 offices, the third after such presentment, or else pors.
 the first named in such presentment, for each of-
 fice, as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that office,
 for the time before respectively limited: In case of
 death and default, such vacancies shall be supplied
 by the Governor, to serve to the end of the said
 term.

“ Provided always, That, if the said freemen
 shall, at any time neglect, or decline to chuse a
 person, or persons, for either, or both the afore-
 said offices, then, and in such case, the persons,
 that are, or shall be, in the respective offices of
 Sheriffs, or Coroners, at the time of election,
 shall remain therein, until they shall be removed
 by another election, as aforesaid.

“ And, that the Justices of the respective coun- Of the
 ties shall, or may, nominate, or present, to the clerk of the
 Governor, three persons, to serve for Clerk of the peace.
 the Peace for the said county, when there is a va-
 cancy; one of which the Governor shall commis-
 sionate within ten days after such presentment, or
 else the first nominated shall serve in the said office,
 during good behaviour.

IV. “ That the laws of this government shall Stile of the
 be in this stile, viz. *By the Governor, with the con- laws*
sent and approbation of the Freemen in General Assem-
bly met, and shall be, after confirmation by the
 Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls-office,
 and kept at *Philadelphia*; unless the Governor and
 Assembly shall agree to appoint another place.

V. “ That all criminals shall have the same pri- Privilege
 vileges of witnesses and council, as their profes- of crimi-
 sors. nals.

VI. “ That no person, or persons, shall, or
 may, at any time hereafter, be obliged to answer

1701. any complaint, matter, or thing, whatsoever, relating to property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other place, but in the ordinary courts of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be hereafter, by law appointed.

Disputes of property not to come before the Governor and Council.

Tavern-keepers, &c. to be recommended before licensed.

VII. "That no person within this government shall be licensed by the Governor, to keep ordinary, tavern, or house of public entertainment, but such, who are first recommended to him, under the hands of the justices of the respective counties, signed in open court; which justices are, and shall be, hereby empowered to suppress and forbid any person keeping such public house, as aforesaid, upon their misbehaviour, on such penalties, as the law doth, or shall, direct; and to recommend others, from time to time, as they shall see occasion.

Estates of persons killing themselves, &c.

VIII. "If any person, through temptation, or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate, real and personal, shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife and children, or relations, as if he had died a natural death; and if any person shall be destroyed or killed by casualty, or accident, there shall be no forfeiture to the Governor by reason thereof.

"And no act, law or ordinance whatsoever shall, at any time hereafter, be made, or done, to alter, change, or diminish the form, or effect of this charter, or of any part, or clause, therein, contrary to the true intent, and meaning thereof, without the consent of the Governor, for the time being, and six parts of seven of the Assembly met.

Liberty of conscience shall be forever,

"And, because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of the consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof,

thereof, shall be kept, and remain, without any 1701.
alteration, inviolably for ever.

“ And, lastly, I, the said *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my heirs and assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, my heirs or assigns, shall procure, or do, any thing, or things, whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, nor any part thereof, shall be infringed, or broken: And if any thing shall be procured, or done, by any person, or persons, contrary to these presents, it shall be held of no force, or effect.

The Proprietary solemnly confirms this charter.

“ *In witness whereof*, I, the said *William Penn*, Date. of *Philadelphia*, in *Pennsylvania*, have unto this charter of liberties set my hand and broad seal, this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King *William the third*, over *England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.* and the twenty-first year of my government.”

“ And, notwithstanding the closure and test of this present charter, as aforesaid, I think fit to add this following proviso thereunto, as part of the same, *that is to say*, That, notwithstanding any clause, or clauses, in the above mentioned charter, obliging the province and territories to join together in legislation, I am content, and do hereby declare, that if the Representatives of the province and territories shall not hereafter agree to join together in legislation, and that the same shall be signified to me, or my Deputy, in open Assembly, or otherwise from under the hands and seals of the Representatives, for the time being, of the province and territories, or the major part of either

Proviso, that the province and territories may separate in legislation, &c.

of

1701. of them, at any time, within three years from the date hereof, that, in such case, the inhabitants of each of the three counties of this province shall not have less than eight persons to represent them in Assembly, for the province; and the inhabitants of the town of *Philadelphia* (when the said town is incorporated) two persons, to represent them in Assembly; and the inhabitants of each county in the territories shall have as many persons to represent them, in a distinct Assembly, for the territories, as shall be by them, requested, as aforesaid.

To enjoy
the same
privileges,
when separated as
when connected.

“ Notwithstanding which separation of the province and territories, in respect of legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, that the inhabitants of both province and territories shall separately enjoy all other liberties, privileges and benefits granted jointly to them, in this charter, any law, usage, or custom of this government heretofore made and practised, or any law made and passed by the General Assembly to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ This charter of privileges being distinctly read in Assembly, and the whole, and every part thereof, being approved of, and agreed to, by us, We do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor at *Philadelphia*, this twenty-eighth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and one, 1701.

“ Signed on behalf, and by order,
of the Assembly, per

“ JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker*

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| “ Edward Shippen, | } Proprietary
and
Governor
Council |
| “ Phineas Pemberton, | |
| “ Samuel Carpenter, | |
| “ Griffith Owen, | |
| “ Caleb Pusey, | |
| “ Thomas Story, | |

The Proprietary likewise, by letters patent, under the great seal, bearing even date with this charter, established a *Council of State* for the province and territories, "*To consult, and assist the Proprietary himself, or his Lieutenants, or Deputies, with the best of their advice and counsel, in public affairs and matters relating to the government, and to the peace, well-being and safety of the people thereof; and, in the absence of the Proprietary, or upon the Lieutenant's death, or incapacity, to exercise all, and singular, the powers of government,*" &c.* 1701.

The Proprietor also constitutes a council of state.

Moreover before the Proprietary left the country, he favoured the town of *Philadelphia*, then become very considerable, and in a flourishing condition,

* This instrument was as follows, viz.

• WILLIAM PENN, true and absolute Proprietor and Governor in chief of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, to all, to whom these presents shall come, sendeth Greeting:

"KNOW YE, That I have nominated, appointed and ordained my trusty and well-beloved friends, *Edward Shippen, John Gues, Samuel Carpenter, William Clark, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey and John Blunston*, to be my Council of State, for the government of the said province of *Pennsylvania*, and counties annexed; of whom any four shall be a *quorum*, to consult and assist with the best of their advice and counsel, me, or my Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, for the time being, in all public affairs and matters relating to the said government, and to the peace, safety and well-being of the people thereof; and in the absence of me, and of my Lieutenant, out of the said province and territories; or upon my Lieutenant's decease, or other incapacity, I do, by these presents, give and grant to the said *Edward Shippen*, &c. or any five of them, to exercise all, and singular, the powers, jurisdictions and authorities whatsoever to me and my heirs, by virtue of the Royal Charter, or letters patent, of King *Charles* the second, given and granted, that are, or shall be necessary for the well-governing of the said province, and territories, and for the administering, maintaining and executing of justice, and providing for the safety and well-being of the said people, during such absence; they, and each of them, the said *Edward Shippen*, &c. to continue in place till my further order shall be known.

"And I do hereby further grant to my Lieutenant Governor, for the time being, full power and authority, upon the decease, or removal, of any of the said Council, to nominate and appoint others to serve in their place and stead, also to add to the number, when, and so often, as my said Lieutenant shall see cause; and in case he shall not appoint a President, then the first named, or the next to him, shall, and is hereby empowered to take the chair.

"Given under my hand, &c. at *Philadelphia*, the 28th. of October, in the 13th. year of King *William*, A. D. 1701."

1701. condition, with a particular memorial of his benevolence, by granting the inhabitants thereof, likewise a charter of privileges,* for its particular regulation, good-order, government and police.

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The Proprietor grants a charter to Philadelphia.

Andrew Hamilton appointed Deputy Governor, and W. Penn fails for England.

And, having constituted *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq. one of the Proprietors of *East New Jersey*, and some time Governor of both *East and West New Jersey*, his Deputy Governor, he failed for *England*; *James Logan* being, by commission, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council of the same.†

\* See this charter, in the appendix No. 6. It is dated October 25th. By this charter, *Philadelphia* is constituted a city, bounded, incorporated and endowed with divers privileges and immunities, for the good order, regulation and government thereof, as therein described and expressed. *Edward Shippen* was appointed the first Mayor; *Thomas Story*, the Recorder; and *Thomas Farmer*, Sheriff; and the first town clerk, and clerk of the peace, court and courts, as appointed in this charter, was *Robert Ashton*.—The first Aldermen hereby appointed, were *Joshua Carpenter*, *Griffith Jones*, *Anthony Morris*, *Joseph Wilcox*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Charles Read*, *Thomas Masters*, and *William Carter*; who, with the Mayor and Recorder, are Justices of the peace for the time being, &c.

The first Common Council-men were, *John Parsons*, *William Hufnagel*, *William Lee*, *Nebemiah Allen*, *Thomas Paschall*, *John Budd*, junior, *Edward Swant*, *Samuel Buckley*, *James Atkinson*, *Pentecost Teague*, *Francis Cook*, and *Henry Badcock*.—The Mayor is chosen annually, by at least five of the Aldermen and nine of the Common Council; whose number is unlimited; and they are afterwards chosen, in the same manner, by themselves, or by the Corporation; which consists of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, by the name of, "*The Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia*, &c."

† "*James Logan* was, by commission, under the lesser seal of the government, from the Proprietary *William Penn*, bearing date the 10th of December, 1701, and by another commission, under the great seal, dated the 27th. of October, 1701, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council of the same."

## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Cause of the Proprietary's return removed.—King William dies, and is succeeded by Queen Anne.—William Penn in favour at court.—Governor Hamilton's administration and death.—Province and territories irreconcilable.—They agree to a separation, in legislation; Edward Shippen, President of the Council.—Resolve of the Provincial Assembly after separation.—Declaration and Test, signed by the members, &c.—John Evans arrives Deputy Governor, and endeavours to re-unite the province and territories in legislation, but in vain. The Governor displeased with the Assembly of the province.—David Lloyd.—Governor's proclamation for raising a militia.—He meets the Assembly of the territories at Newcastle.—The Provincial Assembly remonstrate to the Proprietary.—They refuse the Governor, &c. a copy of their remonstrance.—Part of the Governor's speech, in 1705, respecting the effect of this proceeding.—A very different Assembly elected, and more harmony succeeds.—Names of the members of this Assembly.—Thomas Chalkley's visit to the Indians at Connetto, with a memorial of him.—A singular act of Assembly in Connecticut, repealed by the crown, &c. Pennsylvania particularly affected in times of war, and subject to misrepresentations, on account of the Quakers' principles against war; which now existed between England and France and Spain.*

**W**ILLIAM PENN arrived at Portsmouth, 1701. about the middle of December. But after his return to England, the bill, before mentioned, for reducing the proprietary governments, into regal ones,

1701. ones, which, through the solicitations of his friends, had been postponed, the last session of Parliament, was entirely dropt, and no further progress made in that affair. Soon after this, or, on the 18th. of the First-month, 1701-2, King *William* died; and the Princess *Anne*, of *Denmark*, succeeding to the throne, commenced her reign with moderation and clemency.

Cause of the Proprietors return to England, dropt.  
King William dies & Queen Ann succeeds.

*W. Penn* being in the Queen's favour, was often at court; and for his conveniency, on that account, he took lodgings at *Kensington*; where, at his leisure hours, he writ several useful and excellent treatises, on divers subjects; for the instruction and benefit of posterity; which may be seen in his works.

Governor Hamilton's administration and death.

Governor *Hamilton's* administration, in *Pennsylvania*, after the Proprietary's departure, continued only till the Twelfth-month in the next following year, 1702, when he died: The principal part of which was taken up in endeavouring an union between the province and territories, in legislation; respecting which the Proprietary, by his presence and authority, had prevailed on them to a perfect compliance: For they had not yet accepted the new charter; and they had three years allowed them to signify their refusal. For this purpose *Hamilton* laboured much with them, and used many arguments to induce them to unite, but without success. Upon his death the government devolved on the Council, *Edward Shippen* being President.

The Province and Territories agree to a separation.

During this time of dispute, or endeavours, for an union between the Representatives of the province and territories, not much other public business of importance appears to have been transacted in the affairs of the government. The latter persisted in an absolute refusal to join with the former, in legislation, till it was finally, in the year 1705, agreed and settled between them, that they should compose different and distinct Assemblies, entire

independent on each other; pursuant to the liberty, 1701. allowed by a clause in the charter, for that purpose; which clause was said to have been there inserted by the particular and special means of the Representatives of the territories, with previous full intention of the separation, which ensued; and in this capacity they have ever acted since that time.

The province now, by charter, also claimed a separate Representative of its own, consisting of eight members, for each of the three counties, and two, for the city of *Philadelphia*; which members, being, in October 1703, convened and duly qualified, according to law, their first *Resolution* was in the following words—

“ *Resolved,*

*Note.* “ At an Assembly begun at *Philadelphia*, in October, one thousand seven hundred and three,

“ Edward Shippen, Esquire, President of the Council.

“ The declaration and test, signed by the Members of this Assembly.

“ WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, elected Representatives by the freemen of the respective counties, in this province of *Pennsylvania*, and the city of *Philadelphia*, in pursuance of the Proprietary’s charter to serve in Assembly, do, each of us for himself, solemnly promise and declare, that we will be true and faithful to Queen *Anne* of *England*, &c. And we do solemnly promise and declare, That we, from our hearts, abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived, by the Pope, or any other authority of the *See of Rome*, may be deposed or murdered, by their subjects, or any other whatsoever; And we do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within the realm of *England*, and the dominions thunto belonging.

“ And we, and each of us, do solemnly and sincerely profess, testify and declare, That we do believe, that, in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of *Christ*, at, or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation, or adoration of the Virgin *Mary*, or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the *Mass*, as they are now used in the church of *Rome*, are superstitious and idolatrous.

“ And we, and each of us for himself, do solemnly profess, testify and declare, That we do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto us, as they are commonly understood by *English* Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority whatsoever;

Assembly  
for the Pro-  
vince, &c.

President  
and Coun-  
cil, from  
February,  
1702-3, to  
February,  
1703-4.

1701.

First re-  
solve of the  
Provincial  
Assembly.

*Resolved*, That the Representatives, or Delegates, of the freeholders of this Province, according to the powers granted by the Proprietary and Governor, by his Charter, dated the twenty-eighth day of October, anno Domini 1701, may meet in Assembly, on the 14th. day of October yearly, at *Philadelphia*, or elsewhere, as shall be appointed by the Governor and Council, for the time being; and so continue, on their own adjournments, from time to time, during the year of their service, as they shall find occasion, or think fit, for preparing bills, debating thereon, and voting, in order to their being passed into laws; appointing committees, redressing of grievances, and impeaching of criminals, as they shall see meet, in as ample a manner, as any of the assemblies of this province and territories have hitherto, at any time done, or might legally do, as effectually, to all intents and purposes, as any of the neighbouring governments, under the crown of *England*, have power to do, according to the rights and privileges of the free born

whatsoever; or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person, or authority whatsoever; or without thinking that we are, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul, the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

" And we, the said subscribing Representatives, and each of us, for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever more; and we do acknowledge the holy scriptures to be given by divine inspiration.

" Nicholas Pile,	Jeremiah Langhorn,
" John Bennet,	Joshua Hoopes,
" Andrew Job,	Thomas Stevenson,
" David Lewis,	Rowland Ellis,
" Nathaniel Newlin,	Nicholas Walne,
" Joseph Baker,	Samuel Richardson,
" Robert Carter,	Isaac Norris,
" Joseph Wood,	David Lloyd, <i>Speaker</i> ,
" William Biles,	Anthony Morris,
" Joseph Growdon,	Samuel Cart,
" Tobias Dymmoke,	Griffith Jones,
" Richard Hough,	Joseph Wilcox,
" William Paxton,	Charles Read.

*Votes of Assembly.*

born subjects of *England*, as near as may be, respecting the infancy of the government, and the capacities of the people: And that the said Assembly, as often as the Governor, for the time being, shall require, attend on him, in order to legislation; and to answer all other just ends of assemblies, in any emergencies, or reasons of state; but shall not be subject, at any time, to be by him adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved.”

After this, when the President and Council proposed to confer with the Assembly about a proper time to meet again, the latter assumed the power of adjourning wholly to themselves; and upon the President and Council's objecting against this extent of the Assembly's claim of *sitting wholly* upon their own adjournments, &c. they immediately adjourned themselves to the 1st. day of the Third-month next, without giving the Council any further time to confer with them about it.

1703.  
The Council and Assembly differ about the power of adjourning.

Such was the state of things when *John Evans* who was appointed Deputy Governor by the Proprietor, with the Queen's royal approbation, on the death of *Andrew Hamilton*, arrived in the province, in the Twelfth-month, 1703; who, having first augmented the number of the Members of Council,\* in the Second-month (April) 1704, convened

1704.  
Arrival of Governor Evans.

Who convenes an Assembly of both the Province & Territories together.

[58]

\* Among the names of the Members of Council, in the Twelfth-month, 1703, about the time, or soon after Governor Evans's arrival, appear to be,


William Penn, junior,	Griffith Owen,
Roger Mompesson,	Caleb Pusey,
Edward Shippen,	William Trent,
John Guest,	Richard Hill,
Samuel Carpenter,	Samuel Finney,
Thomas Story,	James Logan.

Also for the three lower counties were:—

William Clark, William Rodney, Jasper Yeatts.

*Minutes of Council.*

William Penn, junior, appears to have been called to the Board and made a member of Council, in the Twelfth-month 8th. 1703, and probably came from England with Governor Evans, &c.

1704.  vened the Representatives both of the province and territories, at the same time and place, in the Council Chamber in *Philadelphia*.

Governor *Evans*, notwithstanding the steps which had been taken, and the agreement made between the province and territories, before his arrival, respecting their future acting in a separate capacity, and independent of each other, in legislation, according to the provision made for the same by charter, renewed the attempt for uniting them; and his first speech to the Representatives of both places, was chiefly calculated to endeavour a *reunion*; and it consisted of such arguments and insinuations as appeared to him most cogent, and likely to bring about a coalition, so necessary for their mutual benefit.

The territories incline to unite.

But the province refuses.


To this the members of the territories, who before appeared to have principally occasioned the division, now seemed willing to accede, to accept the charter on conditions, and to unite with the members of the province, in legislation; but the latter, who had so long been hampered with the refractory behaviour of the former, now, in their turn, absolutely refused to be connected with them, and adhered to their prior agreement for a separation.\*

Which commences a disagreement between the Governor and Assembly.

Thus all negotiation on this head came to an end; and the Assembly of the province incurred the Governor's displeasure, by refusing to comply with his recommendation; which, with the disputes, that afterwards arose between them, on three bills proposed by the Assembly, one to confirm the great charter of privileges of the province, another to confirm that of the city of *Philadelphia* and

\* The names of the Members for the Territories were:—

" James Conts,	William Rodney,	John Hill,
" John Healy,	John Brinkloe,	William Bagwell,
" Roelof de Haes,	William Morton,	Robert Burton,
" Isaac Gooding,	Arthur Meston,	Richard Painter.

and a bill of property; which the Governor refused to pass, without such amendments as the Assembly would not agree to; and they being likewise disgusted at some expressions of one of the council,\* \* J. Guehl. respecting their proceedings, occasioned such misunderstanding between the Governor and the House, that, in consequence thereof, but little of moment appears to have been transacted, in the public affairs of the government, during the sittings of this, and the next succeeding Assembly; at the head of both which appeared *David Lloyd*,\* as Speaker. 1704.  D. Lloyd, Speaker, &c.

In the latter part of the year 1704, Governor Evans met the Assembly of the lower counties, at *Newcastle*; which was the first Assembly, that had acted there in legislation, independent of the province, after the Proprietary's departure, prior to which he published a proclamation, to raise a militia, among such, whose religious persuasion was not against bearing of arms; it being in the time of the war between *England*, and *France* and *Spain*.† Gov. Evans meets the first Assembly at Newcastle, &c. He publishes proclamation, &c.

But

\* David Lloyd was, many years, Speaker of the Assembly; and in the time of Thomas Lloyd, appears to have been Clerk of the Council. He distinguished himself by giving constant opposition to what was afterwards called the Proprietary interest. He had been brought up to the law; and was one of the principal antagonists of the Governors *Evans* and *Gookin*; he is represented to have been one of the chief instruments in separating the province of *Pennsylvania* from the lower counties, so as to compose Assemblies independent on each other.—He came from *England*, in, or about, the year 1686; and was commissioned Attorney General by *William Penn*, in Second-month, 24th. that year. He was a person afterwards much esteemed among his friends the *Quakers* and others; being generally accounted a man of integrity, and considerable abilities, both in his civil and religious capacity: but his political talents seem to have been more for dividing than uniting different interests. He died at *Chester*, where he had lived, in the beginning of August, 1731, when he was Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*.

† This proclamation was as follows, *viz.*

“By the honourable Lieutenant Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging;

“FORASMUCH as the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and the rest of her Majesty's allies, are now engaged in a vigorous war against *France* and *Spain*, for maintaining and preserving the liberty and balance of *Europe*; which, as it engages the subjects of the said crowns and state, in open hostilities, so it lays her Majesty's subjects, in this government,

*under*



1704.

The Assembly complain to the Proprietor against Governor Evans, &c.

But, from what had already passed between the Governor, and the Assembly of the province, the latter fell into such an ill humour, that in the Sixth-month, 1704, they privately drew up a representation, or remonstrance, in a letter to the Proprietary; which was said to be filled with complaints, highly reflecting, even, on the Proprietary himself, as well as the Deputy Governor, *Evans*, and the Secretary, *James Logan*.

They refuse the Governor a copy of what they write, &c.

Some time after, when the Governor heard of this, he, by a written message to the House, required a copy of it; which was likewise done by a formal petition from seven persons; who were all, either of the Governor's Council, or otherwise of the principal inhabitants, and *Quakers*, viz. *Edward Shippen*, *Thomas Story*, *Richard Hill*, *William Hudson*, *Pentecost Teague*, *Thomas Calkley*, and *William Southby*; these, with many others, considering the present ill humour of the Assembly, thought themselves highly interested in the nature of such a proceeding; but they were all peremptorily refused by the Assembly.

What

under a necessity of being well armed and disciplined, as well for the honour and service of her Majesty, as for the defence and preservation of our religion, lives and liberties; all which her Majesty having duly weighed and considered, was graciously pleased to command, that due preparation should be made, in this government, for the defence and security of the same, against any attempts, that might be made upon it by the enemy, during this time of war: Therefore, in obedience to her Majesty's royal command, and to the end that the inhabitants of this government may be in a posture of defence and readiness, to withstand and repel all acts of hostility, that the enemy shall attempt against them, I do hereby strictly command and require all persons residing in this government, whose persuasion will, on any account, permit them to take up arms, in their own defence, that forthwith they do provide themselves with a good firelock and ammunition, in order to enlist themselves in the *Militia*, which I am now settling in this government; and every inhabitant thereof is, without delay, to repair and enlist themselves with the officer, or officers, commissioned to command in that district, where such inhabitant dwells. And I do further command all persons, that they take due notice hereof, and give obedience, and be to their utmost, aiding and assisting to the said officers, in all things relating to the exercising the power given them, in their commissions, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

" Given under my hand and great seal, at *Philadelphia*, the 25th of May, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lady, *Anna*, over *England*, &c. annoque Domini, 1704.

" J. E."

What effect which these proceedings had with 1704.  
the Proprietary in *England*, may, in part, appear ~  
from the Governor's speech to the Assembly, in the  
forepart of the year 1705, in which, among other  
things, he thus expresses himself, respecting the  
Proprietary's sentiments on the causes of his differ-  
ing with the Assembly, and of their letter to the  
Proprietary, viz.

“ The Proprietary, Gentlemen, is so far from 1705.  
agreeing with your opinion, in these matters, that Part of  
he is greatly surpris'd to see, instead of suitable sup- the Gover-  
plies, for the maintenance of government, and de- nor's speech  
fraying public charges, for the public safety, time to the As-  
only lost (while his constant expences run on) in sembly, &c  
disputes upon heads, which he had as fully settled  
before his departure, as could, on the best precau-  
tions, be thought convenient, or reasonable, even,  
at a time, when he was leaving you in doubt whe-  
ther it would be possible to divert the bill, then  
moving in Parliament, for annexing all these go-  
vernments to the crown; which being now diverted,  
and himself secure in the possession of his right, so  
long as his circumstances shall render the adminis-  
tration of it practicable, he is the more astonish'd  
to find you, for whose sakes chiefly, and not his  
own, he has undergone the late fatigues, and ex-  
pensive troubles, in maintaining it, express no  
greater sense of gratitude, than has hitherto ap-  
peared.

“ The Proprietary also further assures us, that  
had those three bills (of which copies were sent  
home) been pass'd into acts here, they would cer-  
tainly have been vacated by her Majesty, being  
looked on by men of skill, to whom they have been  
shewn, as very great absurdities; but, what I must  
not be silent in is, that he highly resents that hei-  
nous indignity, and most scandalous treatment he  
has met with, in a letter, directed not only to him-  
self, but also to be shewn to some other persons,  
disaffected

1705. disaffected to him, in the name of the Assembly and people of this province, of which I have formerly demanded a copy, but was then denied it, under pretence (when it was too late) that it should be recalled: If that letter was the act of the people truly represented, he thinks such proceedings are sufficient to cancel all obligations of care over them; but if done by particular persons only, and 'tis an imposture in the name of the whole, he expects the country will purge themselves, and take care that due satisfaction be given him.—

Part of the Governor's speech, &c.

—“ The Proprietary (who, it is well known, has hitherto supported this government) upon such treatment, as he has met with, is frequently solicited to resign and throw up all, without any further care; but his tenderness to those in the place, whom he knows to be still true and honest, prevails with him to give the people yet an opportunity of shewing what they will do, before all be brought to a closing period.

“ Methods have been taken to provoke him to this, that there might be the greater shew of blame for it, when done, though it could not be avoided; but assure yourselves, that he will be justified by all reasonable men, for withdrawing the exercise of his care over those, that being so often invited to it, take so little of themselves,” &c.

A different Assembly chosen, &c.

The nature and consequence of these disputes appear to have caused a considerable change in the choice of the members of the next elected Assembly, in October 1705; of which *Joseph Grouden* was Speaker.\*

Better understanding between the Governor and Assembly.

This Assembly acted so very different from the two last preceding, as to produce a much better understanding between them and the Governor.

\* The Names of the Members of this Assembly, which, in general appears to have been composed of some of the most respectable persons in the province, were, for the county of

in consequence of which a great number of laws were passed, and the public affairs of the government, for a time, bore a more favorable and promising aspect.

1705.

In this year 1705, *Thomas Chalkley*, one of the seven persons before mentioned, who petitioned the Assembly of the last year, 1704, a preacher among the *Quakers*, paid a religious visit to the *Indians*, at *Conestogo*, near the river *Susquahanna*, in *Pennsylvania*, in company with some of his friends, of the same religious society.\* The *Indians*, who consisted chiefly of *Senecas* and *Shawaneſe*, received them with great kindness: they were much affected by their visit, more especially a certain woman of eminence among them, who appeared to have authority, and spoke much in their Councils; the reason for which was, when the *Indians* were asked, one of them replied, “Because some women are wiser than

Thomas Chalkley visits the Indians at Conestogo, &c.

Queen Ojuncho.

*Philadelphia.*

Isaac Norris,  
Richard Hill,  
Rowland Ellis,  
Reese Thomas,  
Samuel Cart,  
John Goodson,  
William Carter,  
John Cook.

*Bucks.*

Joseph Growdon, *Speaker*.  
John Swift,  
Jeremiah Langhorn,  
Joshua Hoopes,  
Tobias Dymock,  
Henry Paxton,  
Samuel Carpenter,  
William Paxton.


*Chester.*

Robert Pile,  
Richard Webb,  
Caleb Pusey,  
Nicholas Fairlamb,  
John Bennit,  
Isaac Taylor,  
Nathaniel Newlin,  
Joseph Ceeburn.

*City of Philadelphia.*—David Lloyd and Edward Shippen, senior.

\* *Thomas Chalkley*, with his wife and family, removed from *England*, in the year 1701, into *Pennsylvania*; where he settled and resided, during the remainder of his life; which was upwards of forty years; excepting that part of it, in which the necessary affairs of trade and business took him abroad, in a sea-faring way, &c. but more especially in the discharge of what he believed to be his duty, as a minister of the gospel; which, it is left on record, was his principal and most delightful employment: This he is said to have performed through many deep trials and exercises, various ways, in different parts of the world, with good success.

He was a person much beloved and highly esteemed by a very numerous acquaintance; in that he had many virtues, and these of the more amiable kind: he is said to have been of a meek and quiet spirit, and to have had an engaging sweetness, both in his ministry and conversation. He died in the island of *Tortola*, in *America*, in the year 1741, when on a religious visit there, in the service of preaching the gospel.—Though he had not the advantage of what is called a literary education, or of much learning, yet he left behind him some printed works on religious subjects, and a journal of his life, (from which the above account is extracted) written in a plain and simple, yet very easy and engaging style; which were an acceptable legacy to many lovers of his memory.

1705.  than some men, and that she was an Empress among them;”—She told *Thomas Chalkley*, and the other friends, that she looked upon their coming to be more than natural; because they did not come to buy nor sell, nor yet gain, but in love and respect to them, and desired their welfare both here and hereafter.—She related to them a dream, which she had three days before; which, being interpreted was, “That she was in *London*, and that *London* was the finest place she ever saw, (it was like *Philadelphia*, but much larger) and she went across six streets, and in the seventh she saw *William Penn* preaching to the people; which was a great multitude; and both she and *William Penn* rejoiced to see each other, after the meeting she went to him, and he told her, that in a little time, he would come over and preach to them also; of which she was very glad: and now, she said, her dream was fulfilled; for one of his friends was come to preach to them.” And she advised the *Indians* to hear and treat the friends kindly; which they accordingly did.—

Queen  
Ojancho.

This one instance, among many, which might be given, is here mentioned, to shew the love and regard, these people had for the memory of *William Penn*; as the consequence of his just and kind treatment of them; and the sense which they had of his regard for their real good, and true happiness.

England at  
war with  
France and  
Spain, pro-  
duces diffi-  
culty in  
Pennsylva-  
nia.

*England* was now at war with *France* and *Spain*; in consequence of which no part of the British dominions could be entirely exempt from danger. In all times of war *Pennsylvania* is said to have been exposed more or less to difficulties, on account of the *Quakers*, who were the most important and considerable part of the inhabitants, being principled against war of every kind: but then, in consequence of their pacific conduct, it was manifest, more happy effects were produced, in proportion,

as the arts of peace, in a sober and industrious people, are preferable to those of war; though they were strenuously opposed, as well by the internal as by the external enemies of the constitution of the province; and that both through ignorance and design. 1705.

[59]

For

*Note.* About this time (anno 1705) the *Quakers* in *America* seem to have had reason to be alarmed by a singular act of Assembly, passed in the colony of *Connecticut*, entitled only, *Hereticks*: The substance or purport of it appears, by the order of *Queen Anne*, in Council, made upon that occasion, as follows, *viz.*

“ At the Court of *Kensington*, the 11th. day of October, 1705.

Present:—

His Royal Highness, Prince George	Earl of Ranelagh,
of Denmark,	Mr. Boyle,
Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury,	Mr. Secretary Hedges,
Lord Keeper,	Mr. Secretary Harley,
Lord Treasurer,	Lord Chief Justice Holt,
Lord President,	Lord Chief Justice Trevor,
Duke of Somerset,	Mr. Vernon,
Duke of Ormond,	Mr. Earle.

“ A Representation, from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, being this day read at the board, upon an act, passed in her Majesty's colony of *Connecticut*, entitled only, *Hereticks*, whereby it is enacted, that all, who shall entertain any *Quakers*, *Ranters*, *Adamites*, and other *Hereticks*, are made liable to the penalty of five pounds, and five pounds per week for every town, that shall so entertain them; that all *Quakers* shall be committed to prison, or be sent out of the colony; that whoever shall hold unnecessary discourse with *Quakers* shall forfeit twenty shillings; that whoever shall keep any *Quakers*' books, the Governor, Magistrates and Elders excepted, shall forfeit ten shillings; and that all such books be suppressed; that no master of any vessel do land any *Quakers*, without carrying them away again, under the penalty of twenty pounds.

“ And the said Lords Commissioners, humbly offering that the said act be repealed by her Majesty; it being contrary to the liberty of conscience indulged to dissenters by the laws of *England*, as also to the charter granted to that colony.

“ Her Majesty, with the advice of her Privy Council, is pleased to declare her disallowance and disapprobation of the said act; and pursuant to her Majesty's royal pleasure thereupon, the said act, passed in her Majesty's colony of *Connecticut*, in *New England*, entitled, *Hereticks*, is hereby repealed, and declared null and void, and of no effect.

In gratitude for this order, the *Quakers*, in *London*, addressed the Queen, in the following manner, *viz.*

“ *May it please the Queen,*

“ WE, thy protestant dissenting subjects, commonly called *Quakers*, in *London*, having lately been the Queen's humble petitioners, on behalf of our friends, in *New England*, against a law, made in *Connecticut*, for  
their

1705.

The Quakers punctual in paying taxes to the government.

But the consequences of their principles sometimes misrepresents, &c.

For, though the fidelity of the *Quakers* to the King and Government, their punctuality in paying their taxes, and their conscientiously and strictly declining all illicit trade, or defrauding of the royal revenue, in any respect, have, in all parts of the *British* dominions, never been exceeded by any others; which, in an industrious people, are things of very great importance and utility, to any government; yet, in this province, by reason of their not personally themselves complying in military preparations, nor joining in actual service of that nature, or immediately employing others, as substitutes, therein, though they never attempted to lay any restraint upon other people, who were among them, respecting these affairs, consistent with the law of nations, and self defence, or agreeable to the limitations of the royal charter, they have, nevertheless, frequently laboured under very unjust imputations, and the charge of wrong consequences, formed by the false reasoning of their enemies, in this respect.

their suppression, which law, the Queen has been graciously pleased to disallow, and make void, now find ourselves engaged, in duty and gratitude, to make the just returns of our thankful acknowledgments to the Queen, for this eminent instance of inviolably maintaining the toleration, and do, therefore, humbly crave leave, on this occasion, to repeat the sincere assurance of our Christian and peaceable subjection, and unfeigned joy, for the Queen's mild and gentle government, aiming at the good of all her people.

" May the blessing of the Almighty so prosper and accomplish the Queen's just desires of union among her subjects, of firm peace in *Britain*, and of the increase of virtue, that, in the delightful fruition thereof, the Queen may enjoy many days, and after a life of comfort, be translated to a glorious immortality.

" Signed on behalf of the said people, by

" JOHN FEILD,

" JOSEPH WYATT

The Queen's answer.

" Let the gentlemen know, I thank them heartily for this address, that, while they continue so good subjects, they need not doubt of my protection."

*Note.* The winter of the year 1705, was remarkable, in *Pennsylvania*, for a great snow, in general, about one yard deep.

## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Governor Evans's disposition and conduct.—His treatment of the Quakers' principles on war.—False alarm at Philadelphia.—Fort and exactions at Newcastlle.—Richard Hill.—Isaac Norris.—Samuel Preston, &c.—Assembly's address to the Governor, &c.—Further proceeding and dispute between the Governor and Assembly.—Assembly displeased with the Secretary James Logan.—Memorial of James Logan.—The Assembly impeach the Secretary.—Heads of an angry remonstrance to the Proprietor against the Governor and Secretary, &c.—These disputes continue till the arrival of Governor Gookin, in the beginning of 1709.—Names of the Members of Assembly and Council, &c.—Difficulties of the Proprietor about this time.—*

**G**OVERNOR EVANS appears to have been an active young man, of a temper scarcely indifferent to any thing, zealous to promote what he thought the service and interest of the Proprietary required, but not sufficiently studying the genius and disposition of the people, over whom he presided. His warm zeal to push his own views, in some things, contrary to those of the Assembly, tended to produce such extreme opposition and dislike between them, as were scarcely warrantable, and might have had fatal effects; the natural consequence of men's tempers being too much agitated and inflamed; besides the liberties of his private life and conduct are represented to have been such as rendered him offensive to a sober and religious people. He was

1705.

Gov. Evans did not attend sufficiently to the disposition of the people, &c.



1705. was moreover said to want neither ingenuity nor abilities, so much as a proper application of them; for which years and experience are so generally requisite. But his disappointment, on his first arrival, in not being able to prevail on the Assembly of the province to admit of a re-union with that of the territories, which he had so much set his mind upon, with the nature of certain following proceedings of the former, appear to have occasioned his imprudently joining with the Assembly of the latter, in some acts, which seemed more calculated to incommode the province, than for any real utility to either; from which kind of conduct it could not be reasonably supposed any good understanding could arise, or be long cherished, between them.

He joins with the Assembly of the territories to incommode the Province.

He treats the Quakers principles against war, as absurd.

The Governor had endeavoured to form a militia through the government, but so far as appears, and which could not be reasonably expected otherwise, not with much success. He knew the *Quakers'* principles were against bearing arms and war, yet, as the inexperience and assuming of youth, as well as the prejudice of more advanced years, is sometimes ready to regard a contrariety of sentiment, in others, more especially if it differ much from the common opinion, in the highest point of absurdity, without duly examining into the merits of it; so Governor *Evans*, by part of his conduct, appears to have regarded and treated the principles of the *Quakers*, in respect to *self defence*, as a mere notion, which would never endure a serious trial; and by the following imprudent scheme and experiment, instead of answering any useful intention to the public, he is said not only to have alienated the *Quakers* further from him, but also highly disgusted such of the people in general, as were not concerned in the contrivance, or execution of it.

Governor *Evans*, in conjunction with *Robert French* of *Newcastle*, *Thomas Clark*, an attorney at law,

law, of *Philadelphia*, and some others of his associates, it is said, for their diversion, and to try the disposition of the people, but most probably that of the *Quakers* chiefly, concerted a scheme to raise and carry on a *false alarm*, in order most effectually to terrify the inhabitants by a sudden surprize, and thereby oblige them to have recourse to arms, for their defence.

1706.

Account  
of the false  
alarm, &c.

It was at the time of the fair in *Philadelphia*, on the 16th. day of the Third-month, O. S. 1706, when this plot was put in execution; *French* acted at *Newcastle*, by sending up a messenger to the governor, at *Philadelphia*, in the greatest haste, and apparent consternation, to acquaint him, that a number of vessels were then actually in the river, and as high up as a place, which he named. Upon this news immediately the Governor acted his part; and, by his emissaries, made it fly through the city; while himself with a drawn sword in his hand, on horseback, rode through the streets, in seeming great commotion, and a behaviour adapted to the nature of the occasion, commanded and entreated people of all ranks to be properly assisting on the emergency, &c.\*

The stratagem, in part succeeded; and the suddenness of the surprize, with the noise of precipitation

\* There were two noted *false alarms* formerly, in the province. The former was that of the *Indians*, in 1688. The latter was this, in Governor Evans's time; to one of which *Thomas Makin*, before mentioned in the notes, page 211; seems to allude, in the following lines, viz.

" Sed semel hic rumor mendax clamavit ad arma,  
" Incola cui nimium credulus omnis erat.  
" Hæc male-fana die fuit acta tragædia quadam,  
" Cum convenerunt undique turba frequens;  
" Scilicet ut major fieret commotus in urbe,  
" Notior et mutis rumor ubique foret,  
" Usque adeo fuit hac confusus in urbe tumultus,  
" Ut neque tuncleges, ordo nec ullus erat.  
" Hic removere sua instanti properabat ab hoste,  
" Ille nihil contra jussit ab urbe velii;  
" Sed quodcumque sibi voluit dementia talis,  
" Hæc damno multis est memoranda dies:  
" Vespere sed tandem fuit hoc stratagemata detectum,  
" Fabula tunc istam finit acta diem."

But

1706. tation, consequent thereon, threw many of the people into very great fright and consternation, in-  
 Account of the false alarm, &c. somuch that it is said, some threw their plate and most valuable effects down their wells and little-houses; that others hid themselves, in the best manner they could, while many retired further up the river, with what they could most readily carry off; so that some of the creeks seemed full of boats, and small craft; those of a larger size running as far as *Burlington*, and some higher up the river;—Several women are said to have miscarried by the fright and terror, into which they were thrown, and much mischief ensued.\*

But the design, it is said, was suspected, or understood, by the more considerate part of the people, even at the beginning; and endeavours accordingly were used, to prevent its taking effect; but the conduct and artifice of the Governor, with the help of his numerous assistants, and the easy credulity, common to the more inconsiderate part of mankind, very much frustrated these endeavours, till the first transport of amazement had subsided.

*James Logan*, the Secretary, though he was one of the people called *Quakers*, was accused or suspected, of being privy to the affair. He denied the charge;

But once to arms *false rumor* called here;  
 To which the people commonly give ear.  
 'Twas on a certain day the plot began,  
 Deluded crowds together madly ran:  
 By artful means the stratagem was laid,  
 And great commotions through the city made;  
 So wild the tumult, and so great the fear,  
 No law nor order was observed there:  
 While from th' approaching foes to haste away,  
 One urg'd, another orders gave to stay.  
 This strange affair, whatever was design'd,  
 For loss to many, will be kept in mind.  
 The evening did the plot's design betray;  
 The farce was ended with the closing day.

\* It was observed, that, in an *Almanac* published this year, in *Pennsylvania*, was inserted the following distich, opposite to this very time, viz.

"Wise men wonder, good men grieve,  
 Knaves invent, and fools believe."

charge; but endeavoured to palliate the action, 1706. and excuse the Governor; which rendered him the more suspected. The design, though it had such a considerable effect, turned out entirely contrary to the expectation of the authors and promoters of it; for the people were soon undeceived; and when they saw how grossly they had been imposed upon, many of them so highly repented the usage, that the authors and promoters thereof were now obliged to consult their own safety from the fury of an enraged populace.

Account  
of the false  
alarm, &c.

As to the *Quakers*, it is said the principal part of them were attending their religious meeting as usual, on that day of the week, even in the midst of the confusion; and, as if they were aware of the design, in general, behaved themselves so far consistently, that only four persons, who had any pretence to be accounted of that society, appeared under arms, at the place of rendezvous, appointed on the occasion.

With this action, whereby the Governor rendered himself odious to the generality of the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, may be mentioned the following; by which he incurred, in a particular manner, the displeasure of the trading part of the province.

Soon after the Assembly of the territories had met in legislation, independent of the province, Governor *Evans* proposed to them the building a fort at *Newcastle*; upon which a law was passed there, entitled, “*An act for erecting and maintaining a fort, for her Majesty’s service, at the town of Newcastle upon Delaware.*” This law imposed a duty of half a pound of *Gun-powder*, for every ton, that all vessels whatever, coming from the sea up the river, should measure by the carpenters rule, whose major part was not owned by persons residing on the river and bay of *Delaware*; (except ships of war) and by it all vessels, both inward and outward, were obliged to stop, drop anchor, and the

Of the fort  
and exactions  
at  
*Newcastle*,  
&c.

1706. the commander to go on shore, make report, and have leave to pass, from the commanding officer of the said fort, under penalty of paying five pounds, besides twenty shillings for the first gun, thirty for the second, and forty for every gun afterwards, that should be fired on the occasion, in case of neglect, besides the forfeiture of five pounds, for contempt, &c.

Of the fort  
and ex-  
actions at  
Newcastle,  
&c.

This law was considered as a manifest infraction of the privileges granted by the royal charter to the settlers and inhabitants of *Pennsylvania*; and still more so, from the manner in which it was put in execution; for they had legally an undoubted right to the free use of the river and bay, without any interruption, obstruction or imposition from any quarter whatever; and the violent means which consequently became necessary to enforce a law upon such a defective foundation, and not even countenanced by the law itself, soon became a great nuisance, and an intolerable grievance to the trading part of *Pennsylvania*, and others concerned in its commerce.—Besides, it was alledged, that the fort itself, as it was situated and circumstanced, had it been under better management and more warrantable direction, could not possibly be much security to the river, nor protection to the vessels that might happen to be chased, or assaulted in it.

The city of *Philadelphia* was much concerned at these proceedings, and the trading part thereof were highly incensed at this invasion of their just liberties; accordingly endeavours were used to have the affair properly redressed, but without success.

At length *Richard Hill*, one of the Governor's Council, a bold man, and of considerable abilities and influence in the province, together with *Isaac Norris* and *Samuel Preston*, all *Quakers*, and men of the first rank and esteem, was determined to try

to remove this nuisance, by a different method from any that had been yet attempted.\* 1706.

[60]

Hill

\* These three persons being men of considerable note and eminence, either at this time, or afterwards, in the province, a short sketch of their character, as I find it in M. S. here follows, viz.

*Richard Hill* was born in *Maryland*, brought up to the sea, and afterwards settled in *Philadelphia*, having there married the widow of *John Delaval*, *Hannah*, the eldest daughter of the late Governor *Lloyd*, a woman of an excellent character, and very much esteemed and beloved.—He was twenty-five years a member of the Governor's Council, divers times Speaker of the Assembly, held several offices of trust, was, for several years, first Commissioner of property, and, during the last ten years of his life, he was one of the Provincial Judges.

His services, in the religious society of his friends, the *Quakers*, of which he was, for many years, an active member, are said likewise to have been very considerable. He had by nature and acquisition such a constant firmness, as furnished him with undaunted resolution, to execute whatever he undertook. His sound judgment, his great esteem for the *English* constitution and laws, his tenderness for the liberty of the subject, and his zeal for preserving the reputable order established in his own religious community, with his great generosity to proper objects, qualified him for the greatest services, in every station in which he was engaged, and rendered him of very great and uncommon value, in the place where he lived. He died in *Philadelphia*, on the 9th. of September, 1729.

*Isaac Norris*, of *Philadelphia*, held many public offices, with great reputation and honour; and his services, in the affairs of his own religious community, entitled him to very high and uncommon esteem among his friends the *Quakers*; in which he was a principal person in good offices. He is said to have been endowed with good natural abilities; which he improved and applied to the benefit of mankind, as a man truly sensible that one of the chief ends of man's existence is to be useful and beneficent to the human race; which he shewed by his uniform conduct; and that to answer this end men are to be taken as they are, and their lesser failings to be endured, where they cannot be amended; the utility of his great talents was manifested by a prudent and consistent conduct, in which he so much the more effectually succeeded and excelled, and that agreeable to duty and a good conscience, by constantly cherishing a temper and disposition of mind, which overlooks or passes by the many dislikes, deficiencies and ungrateful things, in others, which are so commonly incident to mankind; so that, by preserving through life, a christian moderation, and an even hand, he was, on all occasions, qualified to use and exert his abilities to more advantage: His example in this was noble and conspicuous, and his character, in most respects, so honourable among men, in general, and his conduct so universally beneficial, especially to those of his own religious community, that he was an ornament to his country and profession, and his death a great loss to both; which was in the year 1735, when he was Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*.

*Samuel Preston*, likewise of *Philadelphia*, was, for a long time, one of the Governor's Council, and Treasurer of the province of *Pennsylvania*; which offices he discharged with much honor and fidelity. He was a man of great integrity to what he believed was his duty; his conduct in life, very instructive, and his practice a continual series of good offices. He was a person of such remarkable benevolence, and open disposition

1706. *Hill* had a vessel, named the *Philadelphia*; then loaded and just going out, to sea; but doubting of his captain's resolution to pass the fort, without submitting to the imposition, he, in company with the other two, went in the vessel down the river, and dropt anchor a little before they came to the fort; Norris and Preston went on shore, to inform the officers, at the fort, that the vessel was regularly cleared; and to use such persuasion, as they were capable of, that she might pass without interruption, &c. but to no purpose: *Hill*, therefore, taking command of the sloop, stood to the helm, and passed the fort, without receiving any damage, though the firing was kept up till he was clear; and the guns were pointed in such a direction, that a shot went through the *mainsail*. As soon as the sloop was got clear of the fort, *John French*, the commander of it, put off in a boat, manned and armed, in order to bring her to, in that manner; when he came along side, *Hill* ordered a rope to be thrown him, upon which they fastened the boat, and *French* went on board; the rope was then immediately cut, and the boat falling a stern, *French* was conducted a prisoner to the cabin;—who, now seeing his situation, pleaded his indisposition of body: upon which *Hill* asked him, “*If that was really the case, why did he come there?*—Lord Cornbury,

Account of  
the fort and  
exactions at  
Newcastle,  
&c.

position of mind, as rendered advice and reproof, from him, the more acceptable and servicable; and being of a fair and clean character, good judgment, and suitable presence of mind, his usefulness, in that capacity, was the more extensive and successful. He was a very valuable member of society, among his friends, the *Quakers*, undertaking and performing many difficult offices, and social duties therein, with great cheerfulness, alacrity and utility; and was highly esteemed by them, as an elder, who ruled well in his social capacity, and was worthy of double honor.—He died in September, 1743, aged about eighty years.

The worth of wise and virtuous men is inestimable, and their loss to the community, not easily repaired. It is to be regretted, that frequently their great value and importance are not sufficiently seen, or understood, and attended to, till after we are deprived of them, and can no longer be benefited by their presence and society, &c.

—“*Virtutem incolumem odimus;  
Sublatam ex oculis, querimus, invidi.*”

HORACE

Cornbury, Governor of *New-Jersey*, and as such claiming to be *Vice Admiral* of the river *Delaware*, happened, at that time, to be at *Salem*, a little lower down, on the *Jersey* side of the river; to him the prisoner was brought, to give an account of his conduct. In this place, after *French*, in a coarse manner, had been sufficiently reprimanded by Lord Cornbury, upon a suitable submission and promises made, he was at length dismissed, but not without marks of derision from some of the attendants.

1706.

Account of  
the fort and  
exactions at  
Newcastle,  
&c.

This put a finishing stroke to these proceedings at the fort of *Newcastle*; and thus ended the enterprise; in which *Hill's* friends, especially his anxious wife, a person of note and high esteem, who, at *Philadelphia*, heard the report of the guns, could not but be particularly concerned, fearing lest his resolution should be attended with bad consequences: but they were soon agreeably relieved from their apprehensions of that kind; and his conduct in this affair, made an open way for others.

But *Richard Hill* did not suffer the affair to rest here; for, accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, he attended the General Assembly; and, by petition, in such manner, laid the affair before them, that it produced an address to the Governor, from the House, without so much as one dissenting vote, dated the 10th. of May, 1707, highly resenting these proceedings, on the river *Delaware*, and at *Newcastle*, which I do not find were afterwards continued.\*

The

\* This address was as follows, viz.

" To *John Evans*, Esquire, by the Queen's royal approbation, Lieutenant Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and of the three lower counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on *Delaware* river.

" The humble Address of the Representatives of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met, the 10th. day of the month called May, 1707, sheweth,

" THAT a petition of above two hundred and twenty of the merchants and other inhabitants of the said province, but mostly of the city of *Philadelphia*, having been presented to this House, complaining of very



1706. The act of Assembly, for establishing courts of judicature, in the province, in the year 1701, having been repealed by the crown, the Governor, in order to supply the intention of that act, for the regulation of courts, recommended to the consideration

Of the bill  
of Courts,  
&c.

great abuses and oppressions, which some of the inhabitants of the county of *Newcastle* have committed upon several of these petitioners, by colour of a certain ordinance, or act of Assembly, lately passed there by the said Lieutenant Governor, and Representatives of the freemen of the said three lower counties, entitled "*An act for erecting and maintaining a fort for her Majesty's service, at the town of Newcastle upon Delaware;*" which act, as also the several affidavits, relating to the matter complained of, being read, we thought proper, in the first place, to consider the royal charter of the late King Charles the second, to the Proprietary, bearing date the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of his reign, whereby the free and undisturbed use and continuance in, and passage unto, and out of, all the ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, isles and inlets, belonging unto, or leading to, or from this country, with the other powers and liberties, mentioned in the said petition, are granted to the Proprietary and inhabitants of this province, as the petitioners set forth; and we further observe, that by the said charter, the Queen's liege people of this province are to be subject to no laws, but such as are consonant to reason, and as near as may be, agreeable to the laws, statutes and rights of the kingdom of England.

" In the next place we have inspected the late Duke of *York's* deeds of feoffment to the Proprietary, for the said three lower counties, as also the late King *Charles* the second's grant to the Duke, for the same lands; and when we call to mind how the Representatives of the lower counties broke off, and refused to proceed legislatively, in conjunction with the Representatives of the province, under the Proprietary's administration; but how far they can be justified in making laws to raise money on the Queen's subjects in this government, we intend shall be further considered hereafter; in the mean time we shall insist that the liberty of the free use, and passage to, and out of, the ports of this province, granted us by the above recited royal charter, is well warranted by the laws of *England*; and that no imposition can, by any act, or ordinance, made at *Newcastle*, be laid upon any vessel, bound to, or from, any port in this province, which doth not unload at some key, or place, within the said three lower counties; and we conceive, that upon a strict examination of the said act of Assembly, it will most evidently appear, that the vessels are bound to, or out of, some port or place there, cannot legally be obliged to comply with the impositions of the said act.

" Therefore this house, having fully and maturely weighed the nature of the said act, and the use that is, and has been made of it, found themselves obliged, in duty to the Queen, and justice to the people they represent, to come to the following resolutions, N. C. D.

" *First*, That it is the opinion of this House, that the said act of Assembly might be by the Governor, intended for the Queen's service, and security of her subjects, yet the manner of putting the same in execution proves an apparent violation of the said royal charter, as well as the common and statute laws of *England*, and is destructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruin of this province.

" *Secondly*, That it is the opinion of this House, that the firing of shot at the sloop *Philadelphia*, in the several affidavits mentioned, when she

ration of the House, the draught of a bill, which he had prepared for that purpose, as being better, and more suitably adapted, than the act which had been repealed.—This the Assembly not only rejected, but drew up one themselves, instead of it, so widely different, that the Governor and they were not able to agree to certain particulars contained in it; which were alledged by the Governor, as tending to “*break in upon the Proprietary’s powers of government, or his just interest;*” and, after much dispute and altercation, and time spent to no purpose, the Governor proceeded, by an ordinance, in such case provided in the royal charter, to open the courts of justice, till further, or better provision and regulation should be made by act of Assembly.

1706.  
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The House being disappointed in not carrying their point, in the manner they desired, were very much chagrined. They were headed by *David Lloyd*, their Speaker, as before mentioned, a person of good esteem and character among the people, and who had been brought up to the law; but through most of his public conduct, appears to have distinguished himself in nothing so much, as by

D. Lloyd
heads the
Assembly,
&c.

was duly cleared, at this port of *Philadelphia*, as the acts of navigation direct, and had the Governor’s *Let-pass*, and upon her voyage to *Barbadoes*, is not warranted by the said act of Assembly; but that those, who fired at the said sloop, after they had notice what she was, and how she was cleared, ought to be prosecuted, as persons committing hostilities against the Queen’s liege people.

“*Thirdly*, That it is the opinion of this House, that, in case the master of the said sloop had been liable to pay either *Powder-money*, or other *mults*, imposed by the said act, yet the forcing him out of the vessel, and imprisoning him, when security was offered, for answering the supposed offence, is not warranted by the said act, but is most illegal and arbitrary.

“We, having thus presented our opinion of the said act, entreat, that thou wouldst use the most effectual methods to put a speedy stop to the said exorbitant practices, great abuses and oppressions, mentioned in the said petition (a copy whereof we humbly lay before thee;) and that the authors of these arbitrary actions and oppressions complained of, may be prosecuted according to law, and be no longer permitted to abuse the Queen’s authority, and stand in open defiance of her royal *Uncle’s* grant, obstruct our lawful commerce, and invade our liberties, rights and properties, and under the pretence of fortifying the river, for the service of the Queen, commit hostilities and depredations upon her liege people.”

1706. by his constant opposition to the claims of the Proprietary. Having failed in this their contest with the Governor, the Assembly, in the next place, were determined, if possible, to take their revenge on the Secretary, *James Logan*, who was also one of the Council; and they accordingly pointed the force of their resentment against him; whom they regarded, in great measure, as the cause of their miscarriage, in the bill of courts, and of much of the misunderstanding between them and the Governor.

Against
James Lo-
gan, &c.

James Logan was a man of considerable understanding and abilities, perhaps exceeded by few; or none, in the province; he espoused and firmly supported the Proprietary's interest, and had great influence in the Council; but to persons of inferior abilities and less acquirements, he is represented by some, not always to have conducted himself in that courteous and condescending manner, which gains respect, and is an ornament to superior parts; which rendered him somewhat unpopular, and sometimes provoked his enemies to carry their animosity against him to unwarrantable extremes.*

James Lo-
gan sup-
ports the
Proprieta-
ry's inter-
est, &c.

The

* "*James Logan* was descended of a family originally from *Scotland*, where, in the troubles of that country, occasioned by the affair of *Earl Gawrie*, in the reign of *James the VI.* his grandfather, *Robert Logan*, was deprived of a considerable estate; in consequence of which his father, *Patrick Logan*, being in reduced circumstances, removed into *Ireland*, and fixed his residence at *Lurgan*, the place of his son *James's* birth. *Patrick Logan* had the benefit of a good education, in the university of *Edinburgh*, where he commenced matter of arts;—but afterwards joined in religious society with the *Quakers*.—This, his son, *James Logan*, being endowed with a good genius, and favoured with a suitable education, made considerable proficiency in divers branches of learning and science; where he went to *England*; from whence, in the year 1699, and about the 25th. of his age, he removed to *Pennsylvania*, in company with *William Penn*, in his latter voyage to *America*; and, in 1701, he was, by commission from the Proprietary, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council for the same.

His life was afterwards much employed in public affairs:—The department allotted him, in the time of the Governors, *Evans* and *Gookin*, exposed him to much altercation with *David Lloyd*, then at the head of the Assembly, as Speaker, and a large number that joined him. He adhered to what was deemed the proprietary interest; and exerted himself with

The province appears to have exhibited something of the nature of party, from its early institution, even, in some, who strongly professed more noble and generous motives of conduct. Party spirit, the offspring of narrow and selfish views, is deeply interwoven in human nature; of which, perhaps, it is impossible to be wholly divested. But as the human passions are only injurious, when they are not kept under proper restriction and government, 'so it is the extreme alone of party design, which, in reality, is so pernicious to human society; while its moderate exertion excites a stricter

1706.

Party spirit
only injuri-
ous in the
extreme,

great fidelity to it. He held the several offices of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of property, Chief Justice, and for near two years, governed the province, as President of the Council.—

Many years before his death he retired pretty much from the hurry and incumbrance of public affairs, and spent the latter part of his time, principally at *Stanton*, his country seat, near *Germantown*, about five or six miles from *Philadelphia*; where he enjoyed, among his books, that leisure in which men of letters take delight, and corresponded with the literati in different parts of *Europe*. He was well versed in both ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the oriental tongues, a master of the Latin, Greek, French and Italian languages; deeply skilled in the Mathematics, and in natural and moral philosophy; as several pieces of his own writing, in Latin, &c. demonstrate; some of which have gone through divers impressions, in different parts of *Europe*, and are highly esteemed: Among his productions of this nature, his *Experimenta Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, or his *Experiments on the Indian corn, or Maize of America*, with his observations arising therefrom, on the generation of plants, published in Latin, at *Leyden*, in 1739, and afterwards, in 1747, republished in *London*, with an *English* version on the opposite page, by Dr. *J. Fothergill*, are both curious and ingenious.—Along with this piece was likewise printed, in Latin, at *Leyden*, another treatise, by the same author, entitled, "*Canonum pro inveniendis refractionum, tum simplicium, tum in lentibus duplicium focus, demonstrationes geometricæ.*"—"Autore Jacobo Logan, *Judice supremo et Præside provincie Pensilvanienfis, in America.*"—And, in his old age, he translated *Cicero's* excellent treatise, *De senectute*; which, with his explanatory notes, was printed in *Philadelphia*, with a preface or encomium, by *Benjamin Franklin*, afterwards Dr. *Franklin*, of that city, in 1744.—He was one of the people called *Quakers*, and died on the 31st of October, 1751, aged about 77 years;—leaving, as a monument of his public spirit and benevolence to the people of *Pennsylvania*, a library; which he had been fifty years in collecting; (since called the *Loganian Library*) intending it for the common use and benefit of all lovers of learning. It was said to contain the best editions of the best books, in various languages, arts and sciences, and to be the largest, and by far the most valuable, collection of the kind, at that time, in this part of the world.

He had several children, who survived him; of whom his eldest son *William*, lately deceased, was many years a member of the Governor's Council.

1706. stricter attention to men's real interests, and under proper management and direction, becomes subservient to the more effectual security of the public good.

The Assembly disgusted with the Governor's conduct, &c.

The nature and length of this, and other disputes, with the dislike and odium, which some parts of the Governor's private conduct, are said to have created, in the more sober part of the inhabitants, by his frequently descending below the dignity of his station, in midnight revels, and low frolicks of youthful folly, very much lessened his authority, and raised the spirit of party to a higher degree, than had been known before. The consequence of which was, what is generally that of all extremes, the product of things more or less indefensible, on both sides: a detail of which proceedings, as they are published in the journals, or votes of the house of Assembly of those times, would be too tedious here to be minutely stated.—They produced a number of accusations against the Secretary; which the Assembly styled *articles of impeachment*. Upon these the Assembly took measures to impeach him in form, before the Governor, as an evil counsellor, and guilty of high misdemeanors;—But through the Governor's management and protection, they were not able for the present, to effect any thing further against him; and there is on record his petition to the Governor and Council, requesting that proper measures should be taken to clear his character from the false representations, and gross abuses of the Assembly, by a fair trial.

They impeach the Secretary;

But are disappointed, &c.

Votes of Assembly, &c.

The Assembly intend to get the Governor removed.

The Assembly, being thus repulsed, in respect to *Jamas Logan*, were still more exasperated; and so much were they displeased with the Governor's conduct, that they were determined to endeavor to have him removed. His public administration was not only disagreeable to them, in his manner of acting for his principal's interest, but also the example of his private conduct was much complained

ed of, as having a bad influence and effect on the morals of many of the people. 1707.

For this purpose, therefore, in the summer of the year 1707, the Assembly drew up a remonstrance to the Proprietary, containing a catalogue of the particulars of his mal-administration, or which they esteemed to be such, with a complaint against *James Logan*; the principal of which have already been mentioned:—In this remonstrance, after having reminded the Proprietary of their former complaints, in the year 1704, they further represent:—

They draw up a remonstrance to the Proprietary.

The Lieutenant Governor's abominable and unwarrantable conduct with the *Indians*, on a visit to them, at *Conestogoe*.

Heads of the remonstrance.

His refusing to pass the bill of courts, without their agreeing to his amendments; though they only left two of his objections unremoved; and his setting up courts by his ordinance.

His refusal to try the Secretary, upon their impeachment, by questioning his own authority to judge, and their's to impeach, in the method they proposed.

His imposition on the trade of the province, by means of the law passed at *Newcastle*; whereby he unjustly exacted large sums of the people; with the abuses and consequences of the said law.

Certain unjustifiable and oppressive proceedings, respecting the militia, which he had formed, according to his proclamation before mentioned.

His refusing to pass a bill, in the year 1704, to explain and confirm the charter of the city of *Philadelphia*;—The multiplying of taverns and ale-houses, in the city, as nurseries of vice, by his means; and his imposing licences on the keepers of those houses, without law, or precedent.

His

1707.

Heads of
the remon-
strance.

His refusing to pass a bill, in 1704, for explaining and confirming the charter of privileges of the province; his rejecting the people's choice of Sheriff and Coroner, for the city and county of *Philadelphia*, in said year, contrary to the said charter: His licencing several taverns and ale-houses in *Philadelphia*, against, and without the recommendation of, the city magistrates;—with his sending a message to dismiss the Assembly, on their complaining of his conduct, against the form and effect of said charter, and known usage, &c.

His appropriating certain monies to his own use which the Assembly intended otherwise; and his secreting the objections of the lords of trade to certain laws which had been repealed; whereby they fell again into the same error.

The project and consequences of the *false alarm*, before mentioned.

The arbitrary exaction of twelve shillings from every master of a vessel, outward bound, for a *let-pass*, notwithstanding their being cleared, according to the acts of navigation.

His permitting *French* Papists to trade with, and reside among, the *Indians*, and their wicked behaviour among them.

His granting a commission for privateering, in 1706.

His beating and evilly treating *Solomon Cresson*, the Constable, for doing his duty at a tavern, in one of his midnight revels; though he knew ~~not~~ that the Governor was there.

His excesses and debaucheries, to the great encouragement of wickedness, and weakening the hands of the magistrates, by his ill example, &c.

Note. About the year 1707, Vincent Caldwell, Thomas Wickerman, Joel Bailey, Thomas Hope, Guyan Miller, and other Friends, or Quakers, settled in Kennet, Chester county. M. S.

And against the Secretary, *James Logan*, it was alledged,— 1707.

That he knew the above mentioned *alarm* was *false*; but, instead of using such means, as were in his power, to prevent it, he, by his conduct, under pretence of coming at the truth of the affair, made it worse. Heads of the remembrance.

That, as Commissioner of Property, to manage the Proprietary's land affairs, he had detained certain deeds, for lands, from the owners unjustly; and to some persons, denied patents for their lands, to which they were entitled.

That he had appointed wood-rangers, at large, over the located lands of the inhabitants, in common with those of the Proprietary; for which he had no right; in which accordingly they took up strays, &c. in an indiscriminate manner; which ought to have been restricted solely to the Proprietary's lands.

These are called by the Assembly, in this *remembrance*, *part of their many grievances*; which was sent to their agents, *George Whitehead*, *William Mead* and *Thomas Lower*, in *London*; with a very angry letter, to be communicated to the Proprietary.

The Governor, getting intelligence of what was going forward, in the Assembly, by a message to the House, required them to lay before him, the address or representation, which he was informed, they intended to send to *England*; and that they should not presume to send any thing of that nature out of the government, till the same had been fully communicated to him, according to justice, and the practice of other governments.—This had no effect with them; and the Assembly adjourned to the 23d. of September. The Governor demands a copy of this representation, but in vain.

On the first of October, at the anniversary election, the choice of Representatives, in Assembly, falling

1707. falling mostly on the same persons, as in the preceding year, consequently but little of moment was done in the public affairs of the government, besides the continuation of the former disputes and altercations, respecting the bill of courts, and the other obnoxious parts of the Governor's administration; whence both sides became more untractable, and less disposed to unite in any salutary purpose, for the public good.

The disputes, &c. continue.

But it is observed, respecting these proceedings, that, though the parties were very free with each other's conduct, yet, they are said mostly to have kept within the rules of decency and order; and, in all their differences, both parties, in the strongest terms, professed their sincerest desires and intentions thereby, for the service of their country; and that they had nothing so much in view, in these proceedings, as the real and best advantage of the community.*

In

* The names of the Members of this Assembly, elected October, 1707, were:—

For Philadelphia county.

David Lloyd, *Speaker*,
John Roberts,
Griffith Jones,
Francis Rawle,
Joseph Wilcox,
Robert Jones,
Joshua Carpenter,
Samuel Richardson.

For Bucks county.

Henry Paxon,
Samuel Darke,
John Swift,
William Paxon,
Thomas Hilborn,
William Biles,
Ezra Croasdale,
Samuel Beaks.

For Chester county.

Francis Chadds,
William Smith,
Samuel Lewis,
Richard Hayes,
John Hood,
William Garret,
John Bethel,
Evan Lewis.

City of Philadelphia.

Francis Cooke, William Lee.

Among the names of the Members of Council, in the year 1708, appear to be:—

Edward Shippen,
Joseph Growdon,
Samuel Carpenter,
Thomas Story,
Caleb Pusey,
William Trent,
Richard Hill,

George Roch,
Joseph Pidgeon,
Samuel Finny,
Griffith Owen,
Jasper Ycats,
James Logan.

To these, in March 1709, were added, Isaac Norris, Samuel Proctor, Captain Anthony Palmer.

Note. Thomas Story was also keeper of the great seal, and Master of the Rolls.

James Logan likewise Secretary and Clerk of the Council.

In this state continued the affairs of the province 1708. till the beginning of the year, 1709, when the Assembly's complaints to the Proprietary having proved effectual, Governor Evans was removed from the administration, and *Charles Gookin* succeeded him, in the government.

Gov. Evans
succeeded
by Govern-
or Gookin.

It appears not improbable, but that the Proprietary for some time past, must have been under no small uneasiness and difficulty, respecting his province: For his great generosity and expence, in settling it, with his other acts of beneficence, and the attention due to such a series of conduct, had so far impaired his estate, in Europe, and involved him in debt, that, in the year 1708, in order to pay the same, he borrowed from certain of his friends, a large sum of money; for which he mortgaged the province.*

The Proprietary under difficulty about this time, &c.

Besides,

* Anderson (before mentioned in the notes) under the year, 1715, observes, *viz.*

"Ever since the proprietary colonies began to be very considerable, *i.e.* since the death of King Charles the second, and more especially since the revolution, anno 1688, both King William's and Queen Ann's councils and ministries foresaw the great consequence it would be to the crown and kingdom, to buy off the Lords Proprietaries of Colonies, before they should grow too powerful; and frequent treaties were held with them by the ministers of the crown, for that end; particularly with the truly great *Mr. William Penn*, for the purchase of his fine province of *Pennsylvania*. His demand was £20,000, and Queen *Anne*, in council, referred that demand to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations; whose report was referred by the Queen, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; soon after which an agreement was made with *Mr. Penn*, for £12,000, for the said province; but, he being soon after seized with an apoplexy, which disabled him to execute the same, a stop was put to that bargain; until, by the Queen's order, a bill, in Parliament, should be prepared for that end. Whilst that bill was depending, *Mr. Joshua Gee* and others, who were mortgagees, under the said *Mr. Penn*, petitioned the House of Commons for relief; wherein they represented that *Mr. Penn* having purchased of the *Indians* their title to that country, had by his industry and great charge, improved the country and established considerable colonies therein, whereby he had very much impaired his estate, in *Europe*; and that, in the year, 1708, to clear a debt contracted for settling and improving the said colonies, he had borrowed of the said mortgagees £6,600, to whom he had mortgaged the said province, and all the powers of government."

Note. The names of the mortgagees were, "*Henry Gouldney of London, Joshua Gee, Silvanus Grove, John Woods*, of the same place; and *Thomas Callowhill, Thomas Oade and Jeffry Pennell*, of *Bristol*, and *John Field* of *London*, and *Thomas Cuppage* of *Lambert-town*, in *Ireland*." M. S.

1709. Besides, it cannot be supposed, but that the nature of the disputes between the Assembly and his Deputy-Governor, at the same time, could not have been agreeable to him, for, notwithstanding what appears to have been amiss, or defective in the conduct of the latter, it was then visible, and more so

The Proprietary incited to dispose of the Government, &c.

Note.—In a manuscript, signed *Philadelphus*, appearing to have been writ about the fourth year of Governor Gordon's administration, for a particular purpose, by *James Logan*, is the following observation, viz.

“When the Proprietor, by the fraud of a treacherous steward, was obliged to mortgage the Province, the Trustees of that mortgage, with his concurrence, appointed five persons, in whose character they were best satisfied, viz. *Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris* and *James Logan*, to be their commissioners, or agents. And the Proprietor, in a full confidence in the same persons, appointed them, with one more, to be trustees also of his will. Not long after this, the two first died, and the other three continued to discharge the trust, they had undertaken,” &c. M. S.

Oldmixon, in his account of the British colonies, published in 1708, says,—“We shall not enter into any enquiries into the causes of the trouble, that has been given *Mr. Penn* lately, about the province of *Pennsylvania*; it appears to us, by what we have heard of it from others, for from himself we never had any information concerning it, that he has been involved in it, by his bounty to the *Indians*, his generosity, in minding the public affairs of the colony, more than his own private ones; his humanity to those, who have not made suitable returns; his confidence in those, that have betrayed him; and the rigour of the severest equity; a word, that borders the nearest to injustice of any. 'Tis certainly the duty of this colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has laid out his all, for the maintenance of them, in the possession of his territory; and the public, in gratitude, ought to make good what they reap the benefit of. This is all said out of justice to the merit of this gentleman, otherwise it would have been without his consent.

The same author mentions the names of the Members of Council, and of the persons in office, in Governor *Evans's* administration, as follows:—

The Council consisted of:—

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Edward Shippen, | Richard Hill, |
| Samuel Carpenter, | William Rodney, |
| William Trent, | Caleb Pusey, and |
| Thomas Story, | James Logan. |

Joseph Crowdon, Speaker of the Assembly.

Thomas Story, Master of the Rolls.

William Clark, Edward Shippen, Joseph Crowdon, William Galt, Judges.

Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty.


Samuel Carpenter, Treasurer.

James Logan, Government's Secretary.

R. Lowther, Attorney-General.

Peter Evans, Register. Edward Penington, late Surveyor-General.

Robert Ashton, Clerk of the Peace, for the town and county of Philadelphia.

so afterwards, in part of the transactions of some 1709. 
of these Assemblies, that a discontented and factious disposition, or party, was increasing in the province, against his interest, endeavouring to divide that, in appearance, which, in reality, was one, and ought never to be separated, not even in idea; tending to render the government uneasy to him, and under views, or pretence of gaining more privileges and liberties to endanger those, which they had: This, it is certain, would have been the case, at that time, had the Proprietary made use of those means, which were then absolutely in his power, to terminate his difficulties, to his present advantage, but, most probably, unfavourable to the views of those who opposed him, by his disposing of the government to the crown; to which his private circumstances, the solicitations of the ministry, and this conduct in the province, so much incited him.*

* "In the year 1707, he was unhappily involved in a suit of law with the *executors* of a person, who had been formerly his steward; against whose demands he thought both conscience and justice required his endeavours to defend himself. But his cause (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with such circumstances, as that the Court of Chancery did not think it proper to relieve him; wherefore he was obliged to dwell in the *Old Baily* within the rules of the *Fleet*, some part both of this, and the next ensuing year, until such time, as the matter, in dispute, was accommodated."

Penn's life, in his printed works.



I N D E X

TO THE

History of Pennsylvania.

VOLUME I.

| <i>Anno.</i> | Preface dedicatory to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, respecting the design, materials and subject of the work; with observations, &c. | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| | | 3 to 17 |
| | INTRODUCTION,— <i>Part Ist.</i> — <i>Containing</i> — | |
| | Memoirs of the life of William Penn, prior to his founding the province of Pennsylvania. | 19 to 27 |
| | Account of the rise, religious system and practice, or manners, of the people called <i>Quakers</i> . | 27 to 81 |
| | Memoirs of William Penn's life continued till about the time of the grant and settlement of Pennsylvania. | 81 to 102 |
| | INTRODUCTION,— <i>Part IId.</i> — <i>Containing</i> — | |
| | A summary of the ancient <i>Virginia</i> , &c. with the settlement, government and proceedings of the <i>Dutch</i> and <i>Swedes</i> , on Hudson, or North river, and on | |
| | [62] | the |

- Anno.* the bay and river of Delaware, &c. including the first rise of the colony of Maryland, &c. *Page.* 103 to 121
- Conquest and capture of New-Netherland from the Dutch by the English;—with the rise of New-York and New-Jersey, and the government and public proceedings there, till the division of the latter into East and West New-Jersey, &c. 121 to 136
- First and early settlement, government and public transactions, with a sketch of the religious and general state, &c. of West New-Jersey, &c. till about the time of the colonization of Pennsylvania. 136 to 167
- William Penn's motive and design in the colonization of Pennsylvania. 167 to 169
1680. Cause and manner of obtaining the grant;—with Anderson's account of the first rise of the province. 169 to 171
1681. Royal charter of King Charles the second to William Penn. 171 to 187
- Boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania disputed;—with the real extent and content of the province as afterwards agreed and settled, &c. 187 and 188
- The King's declaration, in consequence of the grant and charter, &c. 189
- The Proprietary publishes an account of the province. Offers terms of sale for land, and conditions of settlement; which he mixes with good advice to the adventurers. 189 to 191
- Origin and nature of the quit-rents, &c. *Ibid.*
- Free society of traders in Pennsylvania formed, &c. 191

| | <i>Page.</i> |
|--|--------------|
| <i>Anna.</i> The Proprietary publishes the first conditions, or concessions, agreed on by him and the first adventurers;—with one of the stipulations therein contained, &c. | 192 |
| Sailing of the first three ships from England to Pennsylvania with William Markham and Commissioners; names of some of the passengers; of whom Joseph Kirkbride is an instance of successful industry, &c. | 193 and 194 |
| Importance of treating the Indians well, exemplified in William Penn's conduct towards them. | 194 |
| William Penn's letter to the Indians by his Commissioners. | 195 |
| 1682. First frame of government and laws, &c. agreed on and published in England, &c. | 196 |
| Part of the preface, and purport of said frame;—with one of these first laws. | 196 to 200 |
| The Duke of York's deed of release of the province to William Penn. | 200 |
| The Proprietary obtains, from the Duke of York, the three lower counties on Delaware, called the territories of Pennsylvania;—with the right of the Duke to the same, &c. | 201 and 202 |
| Boundaries between Maryland and Pennsylvania with said territories not yet finally settled, &c. | 203 |
| William Penn writes a valedictory epistle to his friends, the Quakers, in England, and sails for Pennsylvania in August, 1682. | 204 |
| Many of the passengers, in the same ship with him, die of the small-pox, in their passage. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> The Proprietary's reception at Newcastle
1682. and Chester;—with the places of public
worship in the province and territories,
at that time. | <i>Page.</i>

205 |
| Proceedings of the first General Assembly,
held at Chester, where the Proprietary
naturalizes the foreigners, &c. | 206 |
| Preamble to the laws passed at Chester,
in December, 1682, with their titles,
&c. | 207 and 208 |
| William Penn visits New York and Maryland,
&c. and is kindly received by the Lord
Baltimore;—but they do not agree about
their boundaries, &c. | 208 |
| Extract of a letter from the Proprietary,
at Chester on Delaware, expressing his
satisfaction with the country, and his
service, or employment, there, &c. | 209 |
| William Penn has different kinds of enemies,
and opposition from persons of contrary
characters;—which appears in another
letter from Chester aforesaid, to one who
had unjustly reflected on him, &c. | 210 |
| William Penn first meets the Indians in
person;—his just and beneficent treatment
of them;—with the good consequences,
&c. | 211 and 212 |
| Extracts from some Indian treaties, expressive
of the grateful remembrance of the Indians
afterwards, of William Penn, &c. | 213 to 215 |
| Arrival of the first and early colonists;—
number of vessels, and places of their
first residence. | 216 |
| General character and manners of said
colonists;—some of their names; with
the rapid colonization of the province; | |

- Ann.* and the establishment of some of the *Page.*
 682. first religious meetings of the Quakers
 in the country, &c. 217 and 218
- The nature and manner of both the civil and religious conduct of the early colonists so reasonable and inviting as to induce many to flock to the province from different parts of Europe. 219
- Some Germans arrive from Crefheim in Germany, and begin the settlement of German-town. *Ibid.*
- First arrival and settlement of the Welsh; with short memorials of some of them. 220 to 222
- The first settlers exposed to difficulty and hardships;—some instances;—yet favoured and relieved by the Indians. 222 to 224
- First business of these colonists, on their arrival;—with their entertainment, and affecting prospect, &c. but they prosper, &c. 224 to 228
- Part of the Planter's speech to his neighbours and countrymen in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, on their design in their settlement of that country, &c. *Ibid.*
- Richard Townsend's testimony on the first and early settlement of Pennsylvania, &c. 228 to 233
- Plan of Philadelphia first begun;—the site of the ground, and the first house built on it. 234
- John Key, the first born of English parents in Philadelphia. *Ibid.*
683. Settled parts of the province and territories divided into counties; Sheriffs and other officers appointed, &c. *Ibid.*
- First General Assembly convened at Philadelphia; with the form of the Proprietary's writ for convening them. 235

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| <i>Anna.</i> Names of the Members of the first
1683. Council and Assembly;—with short
memorials of some of them. | <i>Page.</i>
235 to 237 |
| Proceedings of said Assembly, &c. | 237 to 239 |
| A new, or second, frame of government,
or charter of privileges, agreed on and
confirmed, &c. | 239 to 240 |
| First grand and petit jury and court of
justice in Pennsylvania. | <i>Ibid</i> |
| Their sentence on a person for counter-
feiting money. | 241 |
| Plan of Philadelphia finished;—with a
particular description of said plan, &c. | 241 to 245 |
| Dr. Douglas on the variation of the com-
pafs at Philadelphia, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| William Penn's attention to a variety of
affairs discovers a genius capable of
promoting general improvement, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| The Proprietary's letter to the committee
of the Free Society of Traders of
Pennsylvania, residing in London;—
giving a general description of said
province, its natural history and state,
at that time. | 246 to 265 |
| Difficulty and dispute between William
Penn and the Lord Baltimore, respect-
ing the boundaries of their provin-
ces, &c. | 265 to 267 |
| A proclamation of the Lord Baltimore. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| William Penn's letter to the Lords of
plantations, in London, respecting his
dispute with the Proprietary of Mary-
land. | 267 to 274 |
| Lord Baltimore's commission to Colonel
George Talbot, to make a demand of
William Penn, &c. with said demand. | 274 to 276 |
| | William |

| <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1683. | William Penn's answer to said demand. | 276 to 283 |
| 1684. | Forceable entry from Maryland on several plantations in the lower counties; with means used to redress and prevent such proceedings in future. | 283 |
| | Difficulty of restraining the Indians from strong liquors, &c. | 284 |
| | William Penn, being under necessity of returning to England, commissions the Provincial Council to act in his stead, &c. with other appointments, | 285 to 288 |
| | The Proprietary's commission to the Judges; with the names of the Members of Assembly, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Oldmixon's account of the state of the province about this time. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | William Penn's affectionate farewell to his friends in Pennsylvania, written from on board the ship, on his departure for England. | 288 to 290 |
| | Short memorial of Thomas Langhorne from Westmoreland in England. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1685. | Death of King <i>Charles</i> the second, and the succession of James the second to the crown. | 290 to 292 |
| | Extract of the Proprietary's letter on this and other affairs. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | William Penn's interest at Court, and with the King, not employed for his own emolument, but in beneficence, friendship and charity to the distressed, and for a general good, &c. though misrepresented and falsely accused, as a promoter of the contrary, &c. | 292 to 293 |
| | Names of the Members of Assembly. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | | Boundary |

| <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1685. | Boundary between Maryland and the territories of Pennsylvania determined by the King in Council. | 293 |
| | Purport of the order of Council, on this affair. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Description of said boundary, and the extent of said territories of Pennsylvania. | 294 |
| | Boundaries between the counties of the the province ascertained. | 295 |
| | Nicholas Moore, chief justice of the province, accused of mal-practices, and impeached by the Assembly before the Council, with other instances of the Assembly's authority. | 295 and 296 |
| | A letter from the Proprietary to the Magistrates against disorders, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Proceedings of the Assembly against N. Moore, &c. | 297 |
| | Assembly's letter to the Proprietary on this affair. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | The particulars of Moore's case not sufficiently clear, &c. | 298 |
| | Extracts from the Proprietary's letters about this time, &c. | 299 |
| | Necessity of the Proprietary's presence in the province. | 300 |
| | Some proceedings of the Provincial Council. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Further means used by the Quakers to prevent the Indians from obtaining strong liquors, and to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, | 300 and 301 |
| 1686. | William Penn publishes a further account of Pennsylvania;—writes on toleration, &c. visits Holland and Germany; | |

- Anna.* 1686. is employed in promoting religion and virtue, in his native country;—yet attentive to advance the prosperity of his province and prevent disorders in it, &c. *Page.* 302
- His great expence and generosity exceed his circumstances, &c. with extracts from his letters on the subject, &c. 303
- More settlers from Holland and Germany increase the settlement of Germantown, 304
- The Proprietary appoints five Commissioners of State; to whom he commits the government instead of the Council. *Ibid.*
- Instructions to these commissioners at different times. 305 to 308
- The industry and conduct of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania contribute to its future greatness;—and William Penn's interest at court is beneficial to his suffering friends, the Quakers, and others in Great Britain, but exposes him to unjust suspicion and misrepresentation. 308
- Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Arch Bishop of Canterbury, acknowledges his mistake respecting William Penn, &c. *Ibid.*
- William Penn engaged for the national good, and general liberty of conscience, &c. and continues to distinguish himself in defence of an impartial toleration in religion, though unjustly censured, &c. 309
- About thirteen hundred of the people, called Quakers, who were in prison for their religion, were set at liberty, by the King's proclamation, &c. *Ibid.*
1687. The Quakers justly grateful for this relief, though censured on that account by some, &c. 310

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> William Penn appears to have accompanied the King in a progress through divers counties in England. | <i>Page.</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> |
| William Penn's speech to the King on delivering to him the Quakers' address for their relief from cruel sufferings. | 311 |
| The Quakers' address to James the second, &c. with the King's answer, &c. | 312 |
| Objections against William Penn and the Quakers addressing the King on this affair obviated, &c. | 313 |
| 1688. William Penn still labouring under jealousies and unjust reflections, on account of his intimacy at court, his friend William Popple writes to him on the subject. | 314 |
| William Popple's letter to William Penn, requesting him to clear his character. | 314 to 321 |
| William Penn's letter, in answer to William Popple, &c. | 321 to 332 |
| The Proprietary's preference and assistance in his province much wanted;—his detention from it being against his mind, as expressed in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, who had requested to be released from public affairs, &c. | 332 to 335 |
| His letter to Thomas Lloyd, and the five Commissioners of State, &c. on Thomas Lloyd's request and other affairs; with the names of the Members of Assembly. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Account of an Indian false alarm, or intended insurrection to destroy the English in Pennsylvania. | 335 to 338 |
| Short memorial of Caleb Pusey, a member of Council, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Captain John Blackwell appointed Deputy Governor by the Proprietary. | 339 |
| Blackwell's instructions, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

| <i>Index.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|--|--------------|
| 1689. He meets the Assembly, disagrees with the Council and returns to England. | 340 |
| Cause and design of Blackwell's appointment, &c. with the names of the Members of Council. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Reasons why William Penn may justly be styled <i>The father of his country.</i> | 341 to 343 |
| Three of his epistles, or letters, to his friends in Pennsylvania. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Institution of the first public grammar school in Pennsylvania by the Quakers;—its different charters, and principal design, &c. | 343 to 345 |
| George Keith first master of said school; his salary, character, &c. with the common terms for teaching school in those times, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1690. William Penn's troubles and difficulties at, and after the revolution, in England, greatly to his loss, and the disadvantage of the province, which much needed his presence and assistance. | 346 to 350 |
| 1691. His letter to Thomas Lloyd on this subject and other affairs. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| William Penn, being obliged to retire in private, for a time, writes several valuable treatises in his retirement, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| His epistle to the yearly meeting of his Friends, the Quakers, in London, on his present situation, &c. | 351 |
| Disagreement between the province and territories. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Proceedings of the former, in reference to this difference;—with the names of the Members of Assembly in 1690, and proposals of the territories respecting said difference, &c. | 352 to 355 |

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> 1691. Protest of the territories against the proceedings of the province. | <i>Page.</i>
355 |
| Endeavours of the province to reconcile them, in vain;—with President Lloyd's letter to the seceding Members of the territories, for that end. | 356 |
| Thomas Lloyd made Governor of the province, and William Markham of the territories by the Proprietary, tho' this division was disagreeable to him. | 357 |
| The Proprietary's letter to a friend, expressing his grief on this account, &c. | 358 |
| Proceedings in this state of government, &c. with the names of the Members of the Provincial Council. | 359 to 362 |
| The province & territories unite in writing to the Proprietary to relieve his apprehensions respecting this separation. | 362 |
| Schism and separation between George Keith and the Quakers, with the allegations on both sides, &c. | 363 to 365 |
| He is disowned by them;—with their declaration, or testimony, of denial against him, &c. | 365 to 369. |
| His conduct afterwards, &c. | 369 and 370 |
| * 1692. Account of some judicial proceedings against him. | 371 to 374 |
| The Magistrates' declaration of their reasons for said proceedings. | 374 to 376 |
| This affair of George Keith gave the Quakers and William Penn much trouble;—his trial more particularly appears to have been displeasing to William Penn. | 376 |
| William Penn, by means of his enemies, at court, deprived of the government of Pennsylvania in 1692;—with the causes alledged, &c. | 377 |

Index.

| | 501 |
|--|--------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
| The King and Queen's commission to
1692. B. Fletcher, Governor of New-York,
for the government of Pennsylvania. | 378 to 380 |
| 1693. Fletcher's letter to Deputy Lloyd, upon
his receiving said commission. | 380 |
| Governor Fletcher arrives at Philadel-
phia;—to whom the government ap-
pears to have been surrendered with-
out any previous order from England
to the authority in Pennsylvania. | 381 |
| Names of the Members of Assembly con-
vened by Fletcher. | 382 |
| The Councils address to Governor Fletch-
er;—with the alteration of the mode
of administering the oaths and tests to
the Assembly, &c. | 383 to 385 |
| This change of the government hardly
consistent with strict justice, &c. | 385 |
| The Queen's letter to Governor Fletcher,
respecting the defence of Albany. | 386 |
| Proceedings of the Assembly. | 387 |
| Assembly's address to Governor Fletcher,
with his answer. | 388 |
| Assembly's remonstrance, &c. | 390 |
| Further proceedings of the Assembly. | 390 to 394 |
| A law imposing one penny per pound
value on all estates, real and personal,
and six shillings per head, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Death and memorial of John Delavall. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Assembly's petition to the Governor. | 394 |
| A resolve of the Assembly;—with a pro-
test of eight Members. | 395 |
| Governor Fletcher agrees to the petition
of the Assembly; and afterwards dis-
solves them, at their own request;—
appoints William Markham his De-
puty, and goes to New-York. | 395 and 396 |

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|---|--------------|
| 1693. | Governor Fletcher's application, by mes-
sage, to the Assembly of Pennsylvania
in 1694, for assistance, to preserve the
friendship of the Five Indian nations. | 396 |
| | William Penn afterwards blamed the
Assembly for their backwardness in
assisting New-York, &c. | 397 |
| | Death and character of the former Depu-
ty Governor Thomas Lloyd;—with
some of his death bed expressions, &c. | 397 to 400 |
| | William Penn acquitted of the accusati-
ons against him;—and his govern-
ment of Pennsylvania soon after re-
stored, through the mediation of cer-
tain noble Lords, his friends, &c. | 400 |
| | The Proprietary's letter to certain friends
in the Province, on this affair, &c. | 401 and 402 |
| | Death of his wife, Gulielma Maria,
Twelfth-month, 1693. | 402 |
| 1694. | Copy of the grant by which the Proprie-
tary was reinstated in his government. | 403 |
| | The Proprietary commissions W. Markham
his Deputy Governor, Ninth-month,
24th. 1694. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Ancient testimony of the People called
Quakers, respecting the King and Go-
vernment about this time. | 405 |
| | The Proprietary's various good services,
in England, for divers years after this
time, very considerable. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1696. | His second marriage;—and death of his
eldest son Springett. | 406 |
| | William Penn visits his friends, the Qua-
kers, in Ireland, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Governor Markham meets the Assembly
in 1695;—with the form of his writ,
for calling said Assembly. | 407 and 408 |

Index.

593

Ann. Proceedings between Governor Mark-
1696. ham and the Assembly, in 1696. *Page*
409

Remonstrance of the Assembly to Gover-
nor Markham exhibiting some trans-
actions in the preceding year. 409 to 414

Further proceedings, &c. wherein sever-
al laws are agreed on and passed;—
with a third frame of government, &c. 415

1697. Governor Fletcher of New-York solicits
for more money to assist the Indians,
&c. but does not succeed; names of
the Members of Council and Assembly;
state of the Province about this time. 416

1698. A proclamation of the Governor and
Council against vice and illicit trade. 417 to 420

1699. The Proprietary, with his family, sails
for Pennsylvania, and arrives there
after a distemper, called the Yellow
Fever, had ceased, &c. 420

Extract from William Penn's valedictory
epistle to his friends, the Quakers, in
Europe. 421

Thomas Story's account of the effect
of said Yellow Fever in Philadelphia. *Ibid.*

Memorial and character of Tho. Story. 421 and 422

Death of A. Cooke and T. Fitzwater. *Ibid.*

The Proprietary meets the Assembly, who
take measures against piracy, &c. 423

1700. William Penn lays before his friends,
the Quakers, at their monthly meeting,
in Philadelphia, his concern for the
Indians and Negroes; exhorting them
to their duty, respecting these people. *Ibid.*

He meets divers assemblies, at different
times, while in the country;—passes
100 laws, and prepares a new charter. 424

An order of Council for placing a watch
on the sea coast, *Ibid.*

1701. The Proprietary lays before the Assembly the King's letter, requiring 350l. sterling, towards the fortifications on the frontiers of New York, &c. *Page.* 425
- The Assembly's address to the Proprietary, excusing their non-compliance, for the present. *Ibid.*
- The nature of said requisition seemed rather unreasonable, considering the present circumstances of Pennsylvania. 426 to 428
- Articles of agreement, between William Penn and the Susquahanna Indians. 428 to 432
- The Proprietary represents to the Council, the abuses in the Indian trade, &c. 432 and 433
- The Proprietary's administration, though attended with difficulty, is managed with prudence and paternal care; and the colony prospers, &c. 434
- Necessity and reason for the Proprietary's return to England, with an extract from Anderson on trade, &c. 435
- The Proprietary's speech to the Assembly, on the necessity of his return to England, &c. with their answer;—with the names of the Members of this Assembly. 436 to 438
- The Assembly present an address to the Proprietary respecting his successor, privileges and property, &c. with his answer to certain parts of it, &c. 439
- The Indians come to take leave of the Proprietary, with part of his speech and advice to them, &c. 440
- Disagreement between the province and territories again discovers itself;—with proceedings between them and the Proprietary on the subject, &c. 440 to 442

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> 1701. The Proprietary's letter to the Assembly on their disagreement;—he prevails on them to a present accommodation. | <i>Page.</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> |
| The last charter of privileges granted by William Penn, October, 1701. | 443 to 451 |
| The Proprietary constitutes a Council of state for the province and territories, with their charter, &c. | 451 |
| He likewise grants a charter to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, constituting it a city, &c. | 452 |
| Andrew Hamilton, of New-Jersey, appointed Deputy Governor, and James Logan, Secretary of the province. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Soon after the Proprietary's arrival in England, the cause of his return, or the attempt to reduce the Proprietary governments into regal ones, was dropt. | 453 |
| 1702. Death of King William;—succession of the Princess Anne of Denmark to the crown;—William Penn in favour at court, &c. | 454 |
| Governor Hamilton's administration and death. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1703. The province and territories irreconcilable;—they at length agree to a separation;—Edward Shippen President of the Council, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| First resolve of the Provincial Assembly on this occasion. | 455 and 456 |
| Declaration and test of the Members. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| John Evans arrives Deputy Governor from England, Twelfth-month, 1703. | 457 |
| 1704. Governor Evans augments the Council, and convenes the Assembly of both the province and territories;—names of the Members of Council, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

1704. He endeavours, in vain, to unite them. *Page.*
458
- The Governor being displeased with the members of the province for refusing to comply with his recommendation to unite with the territories and for some other affairs, occasions the beginning of an unhappy disagreement. *Ibid.*
- Account of David Lloyd, Speaker of the Assembly. 459
- The Governor meets the Assembly of the territories at New-castle;—his proclamation for raising a militia, &c. *Ibid.*
- The Assembly of the province remonstrate to the Proprietary against Governor Evans, and Secretary Logan. 460
- The Governor requires to see a copy of their remonstrance, as well as some other principal persons, but are refused. *Ibid.*
1705. Part of Governor Evans's speech to the Assembly, relative to the reception of said remonstrance with the Proprietary;—reflecting on their conduct, &c. 461 and 462
- A very great change in the Assembly, elected October, 1705;—more harmony between them and the Governor;—and names of the Members. 462
- Thomas Chalkley's visit to the Indians;—with a short memorial of him. 463
- The war, at this time, between England and France and Spain produces difficulty in Pennsylvania, and that the Quakers in such cases, were liable to be misrepresented. 464 to 467
- A singular act of Assembly, in Connecticut, against the Quakers, &c. repealed by Queen Anne, &c. with the Quakers' address to the Queen, on the occasion, &c. *Ibid.*
Governor

- Anno.* Governor Evans did not sufficiently study
 1705. the genius and disposition of the people;—his contempt of the Quakers' principles, and favouring measures to incommode the province, productive of ill consequences, &c. *Page.* 467 and 468
1706. Account of the false alarm, &c. with Thomas Makin's mention of the same. 468 to 471
 Exactions at New-castle, &c. 472
 Means of redress of this grievance, by Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston, Quakers, &c. with short memorials of these three persons. 472 to 476
 Assembly's address to the Governor in 1707, relating to the affair at New-castle, &c. *Ibid.*
- Proceedings and disagreement between the Governor and Assembly, respecting the bill of courts, &c. in which the latter, being disappointed by the Governor, direct their resentment against the Secretary, James Logan. 477 and 478
 Character and memorial of James Logan. 478 and 479
 The province not entirely free from party spirit:—which is only injurious in the extreme, &c. 479
 Governor Evans's administration being disagreeable to the Assembly and people;—the Assembly attempt to impeach the Secretary before the Governor, but are by him prevented in their design. 480
1707. The Assembly remonstrate to the Proprietary, and try to get Governor Evans removed, &c. *Ibid.*
- Heads of their remonstrance against him and the Secretary James Logan. 481 to 483
 Continuation of these disputes till the beginning of the year 1709, when Governor Evans was removed. 483 to 485

| | | |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| <i>Anno.</i> | <i>Names of the Members of Council and</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
| 1707. | Assembly about this time. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1708. | The Proprietary being under difficulties, mortgages the province, &c. | 485 |
| | These disputes of some of the Assemblies, with his embarrassment, probably conducive to his disposing of the government to the crown, &c. | 486 and 487 |
| | Oldmixon's account of William Penn's difficulties and treatment about this time; with the names of the officers of government in Evans's administration. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

Errata, and Emendata, in this Volume.

| <i>Page. Line.</i> | <i>Errata.</i> | <i>Emendata.</i> |
|--------------------|---|---|
| 7—last line— | but then do, - - | But then does, (or doth.) |
| 94—5— | Bemen and the Hague, - - | Bremen and the Hague. |
| 158—8— | or their religious society, - - | of their religious society. |
| 165—5— | Queen Ann, - - | Queen Anne. |
| 219—18— | States, - - | State. |
| 221—10— | flourishing, - - | flourishing. |
| 221—Note— | their is, - - | there is. |
| 223—4— | or, - - | nor. |
| 223—Note— | part of country, - - | part of the country. |
| 260—20— | Peter Styresant, - - | Peter Styvo:sant. |
| 276—37— | nor never will, - - | nor ever will. |
| 341—Note— | and a make wall, - - | and make a wall. |
| 342—ditto— | to enjoy and use of the world, - - | to enjoy and use the world. |
| 344—2— | found, - - | founded. |
| 344—25— | affected, - - | effected. |
| 344—37— | affected, - - | effected. |
| 354— | conclusion of the note omitted, viz. - - | otherwise represented, or suspected. |
| 359—1— | revolution, - - | resolution. |
| 359—7— | bills which appear to have been passed into laws, - - | bill, which appears to have been passed into a law. |
| 377—19— | the word (or) to be omitted. | |
| 378—18— | advise, - - | advice. |
| 391—Note— | and be further enacted, - - | and be it further enacted. |
| 393—ditto— | shall be cast, - - | shall be cast. |
| 452—ditto— | Edward Smont, - - | Edward Smout. |
| 458—ditto— | James Conts, - - | James Couti. |
| 461—1— | what effect which these proceedings had, - - | what effect these proceedings had. |
| 463—Note— | much leaning, - - | much learning. |
| 464—5— | nor yet gain, - - | nor get gain. |
| 469—Note— | mutis, - - | mutix. |



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